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THE
DISCOVERY OF GUIANA

By SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

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HENRY MORLEY

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THE DISCOVERY
OF
GUIANA,

AND

The Journal of the Second Voyage thereto.

BY

SIR WALTER RALEIGH.



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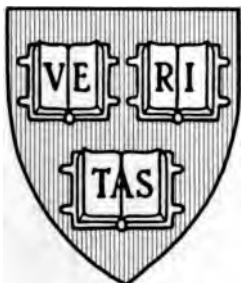


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INTRODUCTION.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH or Rawleigh, was born in 1552, in the Manor House of Hayes Barton, about three miles from Budleigh Salterton, in Devonshire. He went at fourteen to Oxford, as a Commoner of Oriel; and before he was eighteen he had taken arms in France as a volunteer in the ranks of the Huguenots. Walter Raleigh, the elder, was married three times, and Walter Raleigh, the younger, was his son by the third wife. Her maiden name was Champernon, but when he married her, she was widow of Otto Gilbert, with three sons. One of them was Humphrey Gilbert, whose name is associated with that of his half-brother Walter Raleigh in the history of English adventures by sea.

From France, where he had fought in the battles of Jarnac and Montcontour, young Walter Raleigh returned to England, studied law for a short time in the Middle Temple, and wrote a poem of compliment prefixed, in 1576, to Gascoigne's "Steel Glass;" but in 1578 he fought under Sir John Norris in the Low Countries. Then he was off on adventure by sea with his half-brother Humphrey Gilbert; and in 1580 he was a captain with the English troops in Ireland, where he first met Edmund Spenser. Spenser had come to Ireland a few

INTRODUCTION.

introduced into England. Thomas Hariot, one of their number, published in 1588, "A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia," in which he described the way of smoking the herb which they call *appawoc*, but the Spaniards *tabacco*. "They used to take the fume or smoke thereof by sucking it through pipes made of clay into their stomach and head." In May, 1587, Raleigh sent out another colony of a hundred and fifty householders under Captain John White, again to fail. Between 1587 and 1602 Raleigh fitted out, at his own charges, no fewer than five Virginia expeditions, and at the very last he wrote of the land across the Atlantic, "I shall yet see it a great nation."

Meanwhile he was at work in other ways. He fitted out and despatched privateers that brought home from the high seas wealth of Spain. He endeavoured to turn famine-stricken wildernesses in Cork, Waterford, and Tipperary into regions of prosperous industry. In 1588 Raleigh's ship was lost in pursuit of the Spaniards after discomfiture of the Armada. In 1589 he was in Ireland making the first plantation of potatoes about his house at Youghal, and in friendly intercourse with Spenser, whom he brought to court in 1590, to present to Elizabeth the first three books of his *Faerie Queene*, which were then published in London.

In 1592 Raleigh fell into displeasure with Elizabeth about his marriage with Elizabeth Throgmorton, one of her maids of honour. Soon afterwards he planned that expedition to Guiana which this volume describes. Tempted by Spanish

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the 22nd of March, casting anchor at Point Curiapan, which the Spaniards call Punto de Gallo, which is situate in eight degrees or thereabouts: we abode there four or five days, and in all that time we came not to the speech of any Indian or Spaniard; on the coast we saw a fire, as we sailed from the point Carao towards Curiapan, but for fear of the Spaniards, none durst come to speak with us. I myself coasted it in my barge close aboard the shore, and landed in every cove, the better to know the island, while the ships kept the channel. From Curiapan, after a few days, we turned up north-east, to recover that place which the Spaniards call Puerto de los Hispanioles, and the inhabitants Conquerabia, and as before (re-victualling my barge), I left the ships and kept by the shore, the better to come to speech with some of the inhabitants, and also to understand the rivers, watering-places, and ports of the island, which (as it is rudely done) my purpose is to send your lordship after a few days. From Curiapan I came to a port and seat of Indians called Paríco, where we found a fresh water river, but saw no people. From thence I rowed to another port, called by the naturals Piche, and by the Spaniards Tierra de Brea. In

the way between both were divers little brooks of fresh water, and one salt river that had store of oysters upon the branches of the trees, and were very salt and well tasted. All their oysters grew upon those boughs and sprays, and not on the ground; the like is commonly seen in the West Indies and elsewhere. This tree is described by Andrew Theuet in his French "Antartique," and the form figured in his book as a plant very strange, and by Pliny in his twelfth book of his "Natural History." But in this island, as also in Guiana, there are very many of them.

At this point, called Tierra de Brea, or Piche, there is that abundance of stone pitch, that all the ships of the world may therewith be laden from thence, and we made trial of it in trimming our ships to be most excellent good, and melteth not with the sun as the pitch of Norway, and therefore for ships trading the south parts very profitable. From hence we went to the mountain foot called Annaperima, and so passing the river Carone, on which the Spanish city was seated, we met with our ships at Puerto de los Hispanioles, or Conquerabia.

The island of Trinidad hath the form of a

sheep-hook, and is but narrow; the north part is very mountainous; the soil is very excellent, and will bear sugar, ginger, or any other commodity that the Indies yield. It hath store of deer, wild porks, fruits, fish, and fowl. It hath also for bread sufficient maize, cassavi, and of those roots and fruits which are common everywhere in the West Indies. It hath divers beasts, which the Indies have not; the Spaniards confessed that they found grains of gold in some of the rivers, but they, having a purpose to enter Guiana (the magazine of all rich metals), cared not to spend time in the search thereof any farther. This island is called by the people thereof Cairi, and in it are divers nations: those about Parico are called Iaio; those at Punto Carao are of the Arwacas, and between Carao and Curiapan they are called Salvaio; between Carao and Punto Galera are the Nepoios, and those about the Spanish city term themselves Carinepagotos. Of the rest of the nations, and of other ports and rivers, I leave to speak here, being impertinent to my purpose, and mean to describe them as they are situate in the particular plot and description of the island, three parts whereof I coasted with my barge that I might the better describe it.

Meeting with the ships at Puerto de los Hispanioles, we found at the landing place a company of Spaniards who kept a guard at the descent, and they offering a sign of peace, I sent Captain Whiddon to speak with them, whom afterward, to my great grief, I left buried in the said island after my return from Guiana, being a man most honest and valiant. The Spaniards seemed to be desirous to trade with us, and to enter into terms of peace, more for doubt of their own strength than for ought else, and in the end, upon pledge, some of them came aboard; the same evening there stole also aboard us in a small canoe two Indians, the one of them being a cazique, or lord of people called Cantyman, who had the year before been with Captain Whiddon, and was of his acquaintance. By this Cantyman we understood what strength the Spaniards had, how far it was to their city, and of Don Anthonio de Berreo, the governor, who was said to be slain in his second attempt of Guiana, but was not.

While we remained at Puerto de los Hispanioles some Spaniards came aboard us to buy linen of the company, and such other things as they wanted, and also to view our ships and company, all which

I entertained kindly and feasted after our manner ; by means whereof I learned of one and another as much of the estate of Guiana as I could, or as they knew, for those poor soldiers having been many years without wine, a few draughts made them merry, in which mood they vaunted of Guiana and of the riches thereof, and all what they knew of the ways and passages, myself seeming to purpose nothing less than the entrance or discovery thereof, but bred in them an opinion that I was bound only for the relief of those English which I had anted in Virginia, whereof the bruit was come among them, which I had performed in my return ! extremity of weather had not forced me from the said coast.

I found occasions for staying in this place for two causes : the one was to be revenged of Berreo, who the year before betrayed eight of Captain Whiddon's men, and took them while he departed from them to seek the *E Bonaventure*, which arrived at Trinidad the day before from the East Indies ; in whose absence Berreo sent a canoe aboard the pinnace only with Indians and dogs, inviting the company to go with them into the woods to kill a deer, who, like wise men, in the absence of

their captain followed the Indians, but were no sooner one arquebuse shot from the shore, but Berreo's soldiers lying in ambush had them all, notwithstanding that he had given his word to Captain Whiddon that they should take water and wood safely ; the other cause of my stay was, for that by discourse with the Spaniards I daily learned more and more of Guiana, of the rivers and passages, and of the enterprise of Berreo, by what means or fault he failed, and how he meant to prosecute the same.

While we thus spent the time I was assured by another cazique of the north side of the island that Berreo had sent to Marguerita and to Cumana for soldiers, meaning to have given me a *cassade* at parting, if it had been possible. For although he had given order through all the island that no Indian should come aboard to trade with me upon pain of hanging and quartering (having executed two of them for the same, which I afterwards found), yet every night there came some with most lamentable complaints of his cruelty : how he had divided the island, and given to every soldier a part ; that he made the ancient Oaziqui, which were lords of the country, to be their slaves, that he

kept them in chains, and dropped their naked bodies with burning bacon, and such other torments, which I found afterwards to be true; for in the city, after I entered the same, there were five of the lords, or little kings (which they call Caziqui in the West Indies), in one chain almost dead of famine, and wasted with torments: these are called in their own language Acarewana, and now of late, since English, French, and Spanish are come among them, they call themselves captains, because they perceive that the chiefest of every ship is called by that name. Those five captains in the chain were called Wannawanare, Carroaori, Maquarima, Tarroopanama, and Aterima. So as both to be revenged of the former wrong, as also considering that to enter Guiana by small boats, to depart 400 or 500 miles from my ships, and to leave a garrison in my back interested in the same enterprise, who also daily expected supplies out of Spain, I should have savoured very much of the loss; and therefore, taking a time of most advantage, I set upon the *Corp du guard* in the evening, and having put them to the sword, sent Captain Oalfeild onwards with sixty soldiers, and myself followed with forty more, and so took their new

city, which they called St. Joseph, by break of day ; they abode not any fight after a few shot, and all being dismissed but only Berreo and his companion, I brought them with me aboard, and at the instance of the Indians, I set their new city of St. Joseph on fire.

The same day arrived Captain George Gifford with your lordship's ship, and Captain Keymis, whom I lost on the coast of Spain, with the gallego, and in them divers gentlemen, and others, which to our little army was a great comfort and supply.

We then hastened away towards our purposed discovery, and first I called all the captains of the island together that were enemies to the Spaniards, for there were some which Berreo had brought out of other countries, and planted there to eat out and waste those that were natural of the place ; and by my Indian interpreter, which I carried out of England, I made them understand that I was, the servant of a queen, who was the great Cazique of the north, and a virgin, and had more Caziqui under her than there were trees in their island ; that she was an enemy to the Castellani in respect of their tyranny and oppression, and that she delivered all such nations about her as were by them

oppressed, and having freed all the coast of the northern world from their servitude, had sent me to free them also, and withal to defend the country of Guiana from their invasion and conquest. I showed them her Majesty's picture, which they so admired and honoured as it had been easy to have brought them idolatrous thereof.

The like and a more large discourse I made to the rest of the nations, both in my passing to Guiana and to those of the borders, so as in that part of the world her Majesty is very famous and admirable, whom they now call "Ezrabeta Cassipuna Aquerewana," which is as much as "Elizabeth, the great princess, or greatest commander." This done, we left Puerto de los Hispanioles, and returned to Curiapan, and having Berreo my prisoner, I gathered from him as much of Guiana as he knew.

This Berreo is a gentleman, well descended, and had long served the Spanish king in Milan, Naples, the Low Countries, and elsewhere, very valiant and liberal, and a gentleman of great assuredness and of a great heart. I used him according to his estate and worth in all things I could, according to the small means I had.

I sent Captain Whiddon the year before to get what knowledge he could of Guiana, and the end of my journey at this time was to discover and enter the same, but my intelligence was far from truth, for the country is situate above six hundred English miles further from the sea than I was made believe it had been, which afterward understanding to be true by Berreo, I kept it from the knowledge of my company, who else would never have been brought to attempt the same ; of which six hundred miles I passed four hundred, leaving my ships so far from me at anchor in the sea, which was more of desire to perform that discovery than of reason, especially having such poor and weak vessels to transport ourselves in ; for in the bottom of an old gallego which I caused to be fashioned like a galley, and in one barge, two wherries, and a ship's boat of the *Lion's Whelp*, we carried one hundred persons and their victuals for a month in the same, being all driven to lie in the rain and weather in the open air, in the burning sun, and upon the hard boards, and to dress our meat and to carry all manner of furniture in them, wherewith they were so pestered and unsavoury, that what with victuals being most fish, with the

wet clothes of so many men thrust together, and the heat of the sun, I will undertake there was never any prison in England that could be found more unsavoury and loathsome, especially to myself, who had for many years before been dieted and cared for in a sort far differing.

If Captain Preston had not been persuaded that he should have come too late to Trinidad to have found us there (for the month was expired which I promised to tarry for him there ere he could recover the coast of Spain), but that it had pleased God he might have joined with us, and that we had entered the country but some ten days sooner, ere the rivers were overflowed, we had adventured either to have gone to the great city of Manoa, or at least taken so many of the other cities and towns nearer at hand as would have made a royal return. But it pleased not God so much to favour me at this time; if it shall be my lot to prosecute the same, I shall willingly spend my life therein; and if any else shall be enabled thereunto, and conquer the same, I assure him thus much, he shall perform more than ever was done in Mexico by Cortez, or in Peru by Pizarro, whereof the one conquered the Empire of Montezuma, the other of

Guascar and Atabalipa, and whatsoever prince shall possess it, that prince shall be lord of more gold and of a more beautiful empire, and of more cities and people, than either the king of Spain or the great Turk.

But because there may arise many doubts, and how this empire of Guiana is become so populous, and adorned with so many great cities, towns, temples, and treasures, I thought good to make it known that the emperor now reigning is descended from those magnificent princes of Peru, of whose large territories, of whose policies, conquests, edifices, and riches; Pedro de Cieza, Francisco Lopez, and others, have written large discourses; for when Francisco Pizarro, Diego Almagro, and others, conquered the said empire of Peru, and had put to death Atabalipa, son to Guaynacapa, which Atabalipa had formerly caused his eldest brother Guascar to be slain, one of the younger sons of Guaynacapa fled out of Peru, and took with him many thousands of those soldiers of the empire called Oreiones, and with those and many others which followed him he vanquished all that tract and valley of America which is situate between the great rivers of Amazons

and Baraquona, otherwise called Orinoco and Maranion.

The empire of Guiana is directly east from Peru towards the sea, and lieth under the equinoctial line, and it hath more abundance of gold than any part of Peru, and as many or more great cities than ever Peru had when it flourished most. It is governed by the same laws, and the emperor and people observe the same religion and the same form and policies in government as was used in Peru, not differing in any part; and as I have been assured by such of the Spaniards as have seen Manoa, the imperial city of Guiana, which the Spaniards call El Dorado, that for the greatness, for the riches, and for the excellent seat, it far exceedeth any of the world, at least of so much of the world as is known to the Spanish nation; it is founded upon a lake of salt water of two hundred leagues long, like unto *mare caspiu*. And if we compare it to that of Peru, and but read the report of Francisco Lopez and others, it will seem more than credible; and because we may judge of the one by the other, I thought good to insert part of the 120th chapter of Lopez, in his "General History of the Indies," wherein he describeth the

court and magnificence of Guaynacapa, ancestor to the Emperor of Guiana, whose very words are these:—"Todo el servicio de su casa, mesa, y cocina era de oro y de plata, y quando menos de plata y cobre por mas rezio. Tenia en su recamara estatuas huecas de oro que parecian gigantes, y las figuras al propio y tamanon de quantos animales, áues, arboles, y yeruas produze la tierra, y de quantos peces cria la mar y aguas de sus reynos. Tenia assi mesmo sogas, costales, cestas, y troxes de oro y plata, rimeros de palos de oro, que pareciessen lenna raiada para quemar. En fin no auia cosa en su tierra, que no la tuuiesse de oro contrahecha: y aun dizen, que tenian los Ingas un vergel en una isla cerca de la Puna, donde se yuan a holgar quando querian mar, que tenia la ortaliza, las flores, y arboles de oro y plata; invencion y grandeza hasta entonces nunca vista. Allende de todo esto tenia infinitissima cantidad de plata y oro por labrar en el Cuzco, que se perdio por la muerte de Guascar, ca los Indios lo escondieron, viendo que los Españoles se lo tomauan y embriauan a España." That is: "All the vessels of his home, table, and kitchen were of gold and silver, and the meánest of silver and copper for

strength and hardness of the metal. He had in his wardrobe hollow statues of gold which seemed giants, and the figures in proportion and bigness of all the beasts, birds, trees, and herbs that the earth bringeth forth, and of all the fishes that the sea or waters of his kingdom breedeth. He had also ropes, budgets, chests, and troughs of gold and silver, heaps of billets of gold, that seemed wood marked out to burn. Finally, there was nothing in his country whereof he had not the counterfeit in gold. Yea, and they say the Ingas had a garden of pleasure in an island near Puna, where they went to recreate themselves when they would take the air of the sea, which had all kind of garden herbs, flowers, and trees of gold and silver, an invention and magnificence till then never seen. Besides all this, he had an infinite quantity of silver and gold unwrought in Cuzco, which was lost by the death of Guascar, for the Indians hid it, seeing that the Spaniards took it and sent it into Spain."

And in the 117th chapter, Francisco Pizarro caused the gold and silver of Atabalipa to be weighed after he had taken it, which Lopez setteth down in these words following:—

"Hallaron cinquenta y dos mil marcos de buena plata, y un millon y trezientos y veinte y seys mil, y quinientos pesos de oro," which is: "They found fifty and two thousand marks of good silver, and one million, and three hundred twenty and six thousand and five hundred pesos of gold."

Now, although these reports may seem strange, yet if we consider the many millions which are daily brought out of Peru into Spain, we may easily believe the same, for we find that by the abundant treasure of that country the Spanish king vexeth all the princes of Europe, and is become in a few years, from a poor king of Castille, the greatest monarch of this part of the world, and likely every day to increase if other princes forslow the good occasions offered, and suffer him to add this empire to the rest, which by far exceedeth all the rest; if his gold now endanger us, he will then be irresistible. Such of the Spaniards as afterward endeavoured the conquest thereof (whereof there have been many, as shall be declared hereafter) thought that this Inga (of whom this emperor now living is descended) took his way by the river Amazons by that branch which is called Papamene, for by that way followed

Orellana (by the commandment of the Marquis Pizarro in the year 1542), whose name the river also beareth this day, which is also by others called Marañon, although Andrew Theuet doth affirm that between Marañon and Amazons there are one hundred and twenty leagues; but sure it is that those rivers have one head and beginning, and that Marañon which Theuet describeth is but a branch of the Amazons or Orellana, of which I will speak more in another place. It was also attempted by Diego de Ordaz, but whether before Orellana or after I know not; but it is now little less than seventy years since that Ordaz, a knight of the order of St. Iago, attempted the same; and it was in the year 1542 that Orellana discovered the river Amazons; but the first that ever saw Manoa was Juan Martinez, master of the munition to Ordaz. At a port called Morequito, in Guiana, there lieth at this day a great anchor of Ordaz's ship, and this port is some three hundred miles within the land, upon the great River Orinoco.

I rested at this port four days: twenty days after I left the ships at Ouriapun. The relation of this Martinez (who was the first that discovered Manoa), his success and end, is to be seen in the

Chauncery of St. Juan de Puerto Rico, whereof Berreo had a copy, which appeared to be the greatest encouragement as well to Berreo as to others that formerly attempted the discovery and conquest. Orellano, after he failed of the discovery of Guiana by the said river of Amazonas, passed into Spain, and there obtained a patent of the king for the invasion and conquest, but died by sea about the islands, and his fleet being severed by tempest, the action for that time proceeded not. Diego Ordaz followed the enterprise, and departed Spain with 600 soldiers and 30 horse, who, arriving on the coast of Guiana, was slain in a mutiny with the most part of such as favoured him, as also of the rebellious part, in so much as his ships perished, and few or none returned, neither was it certainly known what became of the said Ordaz, until Berreo found the anchor of his ship in the river of Orinoco; but it was supposed, and so it is written by Lopez, that he perished on the seas, and of other writers diversely conceived and reported. And hereof it came that Martinez entered so far within the land, and arrived at that city of Inga the Emperor, for it chanced that while Ordaz, with his army,

rested at the port of Morequito (who was either the first or second that attempted Guiana); by some negligence, the whole store of powder provided for the service was set on fire, and Martinez, having the chief charge, was condemned by the General Ordaz to be executed forthwith: Martinez, being much favoured by the soldiers, had all the means possible procured for his life, but it could not be obtained in any other sort than this: That he should be set into a canoe alone, without any victual, only with his arms, and so turned loose into the great river; but it pleased God that the canoe was carried down the stream, and that certain of the Guianians met it the same evening, and having not at any time seen any Christian, nor any man of that colour, they carried Martinez into the land to be wondered at, and so from town to town, until he came to the great city of Manoa, the seat and residence of Inga the Emperor. The Emperor, after he had beheld him, knew him to be a Christian (for it was not long before that his brethren, Guascar and Atabalipa, were vanquished by the Spaniards in Peru), and caused him to be lodged in his palace, and well entertained: he lived seven months in Manoa, but not suffered to

wander into the country anywhere: he was also brought thither all the way blindfold, led by the Indians, until he came to the entrance of Manoa itself, and was fourteen or fifteen days in the passage: he avowed at his death that he entered the city at noon, and then they uncovered his face, and that he travelled all that day till night through the city, and the next day from sun rising to sun setting, ere he came to the palace of Inga. After that Martinez had lived seven months in Manoa, and began to understand the language of the country, Inga asked him whether he desired to return into his own country or would willingly abide with him: but Martinez, not desirous to stay, obtained the favour of Inga to depart, with whom he sent divers Guianians to conduct him to the river Orinoco, all laden with as much gold as they could carry, which he gave to Martinez at his departure: but when he was arrived near the river's side, the borderers, which are called Orenococoni, robbed him and his Guianians of all the treasure (the borderers being at that time at war with Inga, and not conquered), save only of two great bottles of gourds, which were filled with beads of gold curiously wrought,

which those Orenocoponi thought had been no other thing than his drink or meat or grain for food with which Martinez had liberty to pass, and so in canoes he fell down by the river of Orinoco to Trinidad, and from thence to Marguerita, and so to St. Juan de Puerto Rico, where remaining a long time for passage into Spain, he died. In the time of his extreme sickness, and when he was without hope of life, receiving the sacrament at the hands of his confessor, he delivered these things, with the relation of his travels, and also called for his calabaza or gourds of the gold beads, which he gave to the Church and friars to be prayed for. This Martinez was he that christened the city of Manoa by the name of El Dorado, and as Berreo informed me upon this occasion. Those Guianians, and also the borderers, and all others in that tract which I have seen, are marvellous great drunkards, in which vice I think no nation can compare with them: and at the times of their solemn feasts, when the Emperor carouseth with his captains, tributaries, and governors, the manner is thus: All those that pledge him are first stripped naked, and their bodies anointed all over with a kind of white balsam (by them called Curcai),

of which there is great plenty, and yet very dear, amongst them, and it is of all others the most precious, whereof we have had good experience, when they are anointed all over, certain servants of the Emperor having prepared gold made into fine powder, blow it through hollow canes upon their naked bodies, until they be all shining from the foot to the head, and in this sort they sit drinking by twenties and hundreds, and continue in drunkenness sometimes six or seven days together; the same is also confirmed by a letter written into Spain which was intercepted, which Master Robert Dudley told me he had seen. Upon this sight, and for the abundance of gold which he saw in the city, the images of gold in their temples, the plates, armours, and shields of gold which he use in the wars, he called it El Dorado. After Oreliano, who was employed by Pizarro (afterwards Marquis Pizarro, conqueror and governor of Peru), and the death of Ordace and Martynes, one Pedro de Osua, a knight of Navarre, attempted Guiana, taking his way from Peru, and built his brigandines upon a river called Oia, which riseth to the southward of Quito, and is very great. This river falleth into the Amazons, by which Osua with his

companies descended, and came out of that province which is called Mutylones; and it seemeth to me that this empire is reserved for her Majesty and the English nation, by reason of the hard success which all these and other Spaniards found in attempting the same, whereof I will speak briefly, though impertinent in some sort to my purpose. This Pedro de Osua had among his troops a Biscayan called Agiri, a man meanly born, and bare no other office than a sergeant or alferes; but after certain months, when the soldiers were grieved with travels and consumed with famine, and that no entrance could be found by the branches or body of the Amazons, this Agiri raised a mutiny, of which he made himself the head, and so prevailed as he put Osua to the sword, and all his followers, taking on him the whole charge and commandment, with a purpose not only to make himself Emperor of Guiana, but also of Peru, and of all that side of the West Indies. He had of his party seven hundred soldiers, and of those many promised to draw in other captains and companies to deliver up towns and forts in Peru, but neither finding by the said river any passage into Guiana, nor any possibility to return towards Peru by the

same Amazons, by reason that the descent of the river made so great a current, he was enforced to disembark at the mouth of the said Amazons, which cannot be less than a thousand leagues from the place where they embarked: from thence he coasted the land till he arrived at Marguerita, to the north of Mompotar, which is at this day called Puerto de Tyranno, for that he there slew Don Juan de villa Andreda, governor of Marguerita, who was father to Don Juan Sermiento, governor of Marguerita when Sir John Burgh landed there, and attempted the island. Agiri put to the sword all others in the island that refused to be of his party, and took with him certain Cemerones, and other desperate companions. From thence he went to Cumana, and there slew the governor, and dealt in all as at Marguerita: he spoiled all the coast of Caracas, and the province of Venezuela, and of Rio de Hache; and as I remember, it was the same year that Sir John Hawkins sailed to Saint Juan de Lua in the *Jesus of Lubeck*, for himself told me that he met with such a one upon the coast that rebelled, and had sailed down all the river of Amazons. Agiri from hence landed about Sancta

Marta, and sacked it also, putting to death so many as refused to be his followers; purposing to invade Nuevo reyno de Granada, and to sack Pampelone, Merida, Lagrita, Tunia, and the rest of the cities of Nuevo reyno, and from thence again to enter Peru. But in a fight in the said Nuevo reyno he was overthrown, and finding no way to escape, he first put to the sword his own children, foretelling them that they should not live to be defamed or upbraided by the Spaniards after his death, who would have termed them the children of a traitor or tyrant, and that since he could not make them princes, he would yet deliver them from shame and reproach. These were the ends and tragedies of Oreliano, Ordace, Osua, Martynes, and Agiri.

After these followed Geronimo Orta! de Saragosa with 130 soldiers, who, failing his entrance by sea, was cast with the current on the coast of Paria, and peopled about S. Miguell de Neueri. It was then attempted by Don Pedro de Sylva, a Portuguese, of the family of Rigomes de Sylva, and by the favour which Rigomes had with the king he was set out, but he also shot wide of the mark, for being departed from Spain with his fleet, he

entered by Marañon, or Amazonas, where by the nations of the river and by the Amazons he was utterly overthrown, and himself and all his army defeated; only seven escaped, and of those but two returned.

After him came Pedro Hernandez de Serpa, and landed at Cumana, in the West Indies, taking his journey by land towards Orinoco, which may be some 120 leagues; but ere he came to the borders of the said river he was set upon by a nation of Indians called Wikiri, and overthrown in sort, that of 300 soldiers, horsemen, many Indians, and negroes, there returned but eighteen: others affirm that he was defeated in the very entrance of Guiana, at the first civil town of the Empire, called Macureguarat. Captain Preston, in taking S. Iago de Leon (which was by him and his companies very resolutely performed, being a great town and far within the land), held a gentleman prisoner, who died in his ship, that was one of the company of Hernandez de Serpa, and saved among those that escaped, who witnessed what opinion is held among the Spaniards thereabouts of the great riches of Guiana and El Dorado, the city of Inga. Another Spaniard was brought aboard me by Captain

Preston, who told me, in the hearing of himself and divers other gentlemen, that he met with Berreo, camp-master at Caracas, when he came from the borders of Guiana, and that he saw with him forty of most pure plates of gold curiously wrought, and swords of Guiana decked and inlaid with gold, feathers garnished with gold, and divers rarities, which he carried to the Spanish king.

. After Hernandez de Serpa, it was undertaken by the Adelantado, Don Gonzales Cemenes de Casada, who was one of the chiefest in the conquest of Nuevo reyno, whose daughter and heir Don Anthonio de Berreo married : Gonzales sought the passage also by the river called Papamene, which riseth by Quito in Peru, and runneth south-east 100 leagues, and then falleth into the Amazons, but he also failing the entrance, returned with the loss of much labour and cost ; I took one Captain George, a Spaniard that followed Gonzales in this enterprise. Gonzales gave his daughter to Berreo, taking his oath and honour to follow the enterprise to the last of his substance and life, who since, as he hath sworn to me, hath spent 300,000 ducats in the same, and yet never could enter so far into the land as myself, with that poor troop, or rather a

handful of men, being in all about 100 gentlemen, soldiers, rowers, boat-keepers, boys, and of all sorts : neither could any of the forepast undertakers, nor Berreo himself, discover the country, till now lately by conference with an ancient king called Carapana he got the true light thereof ; for Berreo came above 1,500 miles ere he understood aught, or could find any passage or entrance into any part thereof, yet he had experience of all these fore-named and divers others, and was persuaded of their errors and mistakings. Berreo sought it by the river Cassanar, which falleth into a great river called Pato ; Pato falleth into Meta, and Meta into Baraquan, which is also called Orinoco.

He took his journey from Nuevo reyno de Granada, where he dwelt, having the inheritance of Gonzales Cemenes in those parts ; he was followed with 700 horse ; he drove with him 1,000 head of cattle ; he had also many women, Indians, and slaves. How all these rivers cross and encounter, how the country lieth and is bordered, the passage of Cemenes and of Berreo, mine own discovery and the way that I entered, with all the rest of the nations and rivers, your lordship shall receive in a large chart or map, which I have not yet finished,

and which I shall most humbly pray your lordship to secrete, and not to suffer it to pass your own hands; for by a draft thereof all may be prevented by other nations. For I know it is this very year sought by the French, although by the way that they now take I fear it not much. It was also told me ere I departed England that Villiers the Admiral, was in preparation for the planting of the Amazons, to which river the French have made divers voyages, and returned much gold and other rarities. I spoke with a captain of a French ship that came from thence, his ship riding in Falmouth, the same year that my ships came first from Virginia.

There was another this year in Helford that also came from thence, and had been fourteen months at an anchor in the Amazons, which were both very rich. Although, as I am persuaded, Guiana cannot be entered that way, yet no doubt the trade of gold from thence passeth by branches of rivers into the river Amazons, and so it doth on every hand far from the country itself, for those Indians of Trinidad have plates of gold from Guiana, and those cannibals of Dominica, which dwell in the islands by which our ships pass yearly to the West

Indies, also the Indians of Paria, those Indians called Tucaris, Chochi, Apotomios, Cumanagotos, and all those other nations inhabiting near about the mountains that run from Paria through the province of Venezuela, and in Maracapana, and the cannibals of Guanipa, the Indians called Assawai, Coaca, Aiai, and the rest (all which shall be described in my description as they are situate), have plates of gold of Guiana. And upon the river Amazons Thevet writeth that the people wear croissants of gold, for of that form the Guianians most commonly make them: so as from Dominica to Amazons, which is above 250 leagues, all the chief Indians in all parts wear of those plates of Guiana. Undoubtedly those that trade with the Amazons return much gold, which (as is aforesaid) cometh by trade from Guiana, by some branch of a river that falleth from the country into the Amazons, and either it is by the river which passeth by the nations called Tisnados, or by Carepuna. I made inquiries amongst the most ancient and best travelled of the Orinococoni, and I had knowledge of all the rivers between Orinoco and Amazons, and was very desirous to understand the truth of those warlike women,

because of some it is believed, of others not : and though I digress from my purpose, yet I will set down what hath been delivered me for truth of those women ; and I spoke with a cazique, or lord of people, that told me he had been in the river, and beyond it also. The nations of these women are on the south side of the river, in the provinces of Topago, and their chiefest strengths and retreats are in the islands situated on the south side of the entrance, some sixty leagues within the mouth of the said river. The memories of the like women are very ancient as well in Africa as in Asia ; in Africa those that had Medusa for queen, others in Scythia, near the rivers of Tanais and Thermadon ; we find also that Lampedo and Marthesia were queens of the Amazons ; in many histories they are verified to have been, and in divers ages and provinces ; but they which are not far from Guiana do accompany with men but once in a year, and for the time of one month, which I gather by their relation to be in April. At that time all the kings of the borders assemble, and the queens of the Amazons, and after the queens have chosen, the rest cast lots for their valentines. This one month they feast, dance, and drink of their wines

in abundance, and the moon being done, they all depart to their own provinces. If they conceive and be delivered of a son, they return him to the father, if of a daughter, they nourish it and retain it; and as many as have daughters send unto the begetters a present, all being desirous to increase their own sex and kind; but that they cut off the right dug of the breast I do not find to be true. It was further told me that if in the wars they took any prisoners that they used to accompany with those also at what time soever, but in the end for certain they put them to death; for they are said to be very cruel and bloodthirsty, especially to such as offer to invade their territories. These Amazons have likewise great store of these plates of gold, which they recover by exchange chiefly for a kind of green stone, which the Spaniards call Piedras Hijadas, and we use for spleen stones, and for the disease of the stone we also esteem them: of these I saw divers in Guiana, and commonly every king or cazique hath one, which their wives for the most part wear, and they esteem them as great jewels.

But to return to the enterprise of Berreo, who (as I have said) departed from Nuevo reyno with

700 horse, besides the provisions above rehearsed. He descended by the river called Cassanar, which riseth in Nuevo reyno out of the mountains by the city of Tunia, from which mountain also springeth Pato, both which fall into the great river of Meta, and Meta riseth from a mountain joining to Pampelone in the same Nuevo reyno de Granada: these, as also Guaiare, which issueth out of the mountains by Timana, fall all into Baraquan, and are but of his heads, for at their coming together they lose their names, and Baraquan farther down is also re-baptised by the name of Orinoco. On the other side of the city and hills of Timana riseth Rio Grande, which falleth into the sea by Santa Marta. By Cassanar first, and so into Meta, Berreo passed, keeping his horsemen on the banks, where the country served them for to march, and where otherwise he was driven to embark them in boats which he built for the purpose, and so came with the current down the river of Meta, and so into Baraquan. After he entered that great and mighty river, he began daily to lose of his companies both men and horse, for it is in many places violently swift, and hath forcible eddies, many sands, and divers islands sharp

pointed with rocks: but after one whole year, journeying for the most part by river, and the rest by land, he grew daily to fewer numbers, for both by sickness, and by encountering with the people of those regions through which he travelled, his companies were much wasted, especially by divers encounters with the Amapaiens; and in all this time he never could learn of any passage into Guiana, nor any news or fame thereof, until he came to the farther border of the said Amapaia, eight days' journey from the river Caroli, which was the farthest river that we entered. Among those of Amapaia, Guiana was famous, but few of these people accosted Berreo, or would trade with him the first three months of the six which he sojourned there. This Amapaia is also marvellously rich in gold (as both Berreo confessed, and those of Guiana with whom I had most conference), and is situated upon Orinoco also. In this country Berreo lost sixty of his best soldiers, and most of all his horse that remained of his former years' travel; but in the end, after divers encounters with those nations, they grew to peace, and they presented Berreo with ten images of fine gold among divers other plates and croissants, which, as

he swore to me and divers other gentlemen, were so curiously wrought as he had not seen the like either in Italy, Spain, or the Low Countries; and he was resolved that when they came to the hands of the Spanish king, to whom he had sent them by his camp-master, they would appear very admirable, especially being wrought by such a nation as had no iron instrument at all, nor any of those helps which our goldsmiths have to work withal. The particular name of the people in Amapaia which gave him these pieces are called Anebas, and the river of Orinoco at that place is above twelve English miles broad, which may be from its outfall into the sea 700 or 800 miles.

This province of Amapaia is a very low and marshy ground near the river, and by reason of the red water which issueth out in small branches through the fenny and boggy ground, there breed divers poisonous worms and serpents, and the Spaniards not suspecting, nor in any sort foreknowing the danger, were infected with a grievous kind of flux by drinking thereof, and even the very horses poisoned therewith: insomuch as at the end of the six months that they abode there, of all their troops, there were not left above 120 soldiers,

and neither horse nor cattle. For Berreo hoped to have found Guiana by 1,000 miles nearer than it fell out to be in the end, by means whereof they sustained much want and much hunger, oppressed with grievous diseases, and all the miseries that could be imagined. I demanded of those in Guiana that had travelled Amapaia how they lived with that tawny or red water when they travelled thither; and they told me that after the sun was near the middle of the sky they used to fill their pots and pitchers with that water, but either before that time, or towards the setting of the sun, it was dangerous to drink of, and in the night strong poison. I learned also of divers other rivers of that nature among them which were also (while the sun was in the meridian) very safe to drink, and in the morning, evening, and night wonderfully dangerous and infective. From this province Berreo hasted away as soon as the spring and beginning of summer appeared, and sought his entrance on the borders of Orinoco, on the south side, but there ran a ledge of so high and impassable mountains as he was not able by any means to march over them, continuing from the east sea, into which Orinoco falleth, even to Quito, in

Peru; neither had he means to carry victual or munition over those craggy, high, and fast hills, being all woody, and those so thick and spiny, and so full of prickles, thorns, and briers, as it is impossible to creep through them. He had also neither friendship among the people, nor any interpreter to persuade or treat with them; and more, to his disadvantage, the Caziqui and kings of Amapaia had given knowledge of his purpose to the Guianians, and that he sought to sack and conquer the empire, for the hope of their so great abundance and quantities of gold. He passed by the mouths of many great rivers, which fell into Orinoco both from the north and south, which I forbear to name for tediousness, and because they are more pleasing in describing than reading.

Berreó affirmed that there fell a hundred rivers into Orinoco from the north and south, whereof the least was as big as Rio Grande, that passeth between Popayan and Nuevo reyno de Granada (Rio Grande being esteemed one of the most renowned rivers in all the West Indies, and numbered among the great rivers of the world); but he knew not the names of any of these, but Caroli only, neither from what nations they descended, neither to what

provinces they led, for he had no means to discourse with the inhabitants at any time : neither was he curious in these things, being utterly unlearned, and not knowing the east from the west. But of all these I got some knowledge, and of many more, partly by mine own travel, and the rest by conference : of some one I learned one, of others the rest, having with me an Indian that spoke many languages, and that of Guiana naturally. I sought out all the aged men, and such as were greatest travellers, and by the one and the other I came to understand the situations, the rivers, the kingdoms from the east sea to the borders of Peru, and from Orinoco southward as far as Amazons or Marañon, and the regions of Maria Tamball, and of all the kings of provinces and captains of towns and villages, how they stood in terms of peace and war, and which were friends or enemies the one with the other, without which there can be neither entrance nor conquest in those parts, nor elsewhere. For by the dissension between Guascar and Atabalipa, Pizarro conquered Peru, and by the hatred that the Traxcallians bare to Montezuma, Cortez was victorious over Mexico, without which both the one and the other had

failed of their enterprise, and of the great honour and riches which they attained unto.

Now Berreo began to grow into despair, and looked for no other success than his predecessors in this enterprise, until such time as he arrived at the Province of Emeria, towards the east sea and mouth of the river, where he found a nation of people very favourable, and the country full of all manner of victual. The king of this land is called Carapana, a man very wise, subtle, and of great experience, being little less than one hundred years old. In his youth he was sent by his father into the island of Trinidad, by reason of civil war among themselves, and was bred at a village in that island called Parico; at that place in his youth he had seen many Christians, both French and Spanish, and went divers times with the Indians of Trinidad to Marguerita and Cumana, in the West Indies (for both those places have ever been relieved with victual from Trinidad), by reason whereof he grew of more understanding, and noted the difference of the nations, comparing the strength and arms of his country with those of the Christians, and ever after temporised so, as whosoever else did amiss, or was wasted by contention, Carapana kept himself

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and his country in quiet and plenty : he also held peace with Caribas or cannibals, his neighbours, and had free trade with all nations, whosoever else had war.

Berreó sojourned and rested his weak troop in the town of Carapana six weeks, and from him learned the way and passage to Guiana, and the riches and magnificence thereof ; but being then utterly unable to proceed, he determined to try his fortune another year, when he had renewed his provisions and re-gathered more force, which he hoped for as well out of Spain as from Nuevo reyno, where he had left his son, Don Anthonio Xemenes, to second him upon the first notice given of his entrance, and so for the present embarked himself in canoes, and by the branches of Orinoco arrived at Trinidad, having from Carapana sufficient pilots to conduct him. From Trinidad he coasted Paria, and so recovered Marguerita : and having made relation to Don Juan Serniento, the governor of his proceeding, and persuaded him of the riches of Guiana, he obtained from thence fifty soldiers, promising presently to return to Carapana, and so into Guiana. But Berreó meant nothing less at that time, for he wanted many pro-

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visions necessary for such an enterprise, and therefore departing from Marguerita, seated himself in Trinidad, and from thence sent his camp-master and his sergeant-major back to the borders to discover the nearest passage into the Empire, as also to treat with the borderers, and to draw them to his party and love, without which he knew he could neither pass safely, nor in any sort be relieved with victual or aught else. Carapana directed this company to a king called Morequito, assuring them that no man could deliver so much of Guiana as Morequito could, and that his dwelling was but five days' journey from Macureguarai, the first civil town of Guiana.

Now your lordship shall understand that this Morequito, one of the greatest lords or kings of the borders of Guiana, had two or three years before been at Cumana and at Marguerita, in the West Indies, with great store of plates of gold, which he carried to exchange for such other things as he wanted in his own country, and was daily feasted, and presented by the governors of those places, and held amongst them some two months, in which time one Vides, governor of Cumana, wanted him to be his conductor into Guiana, being

allured by those croissants and images of gold which he brought with him to trade, as also by the ancient fame and magnificence of El Dorado: whereupon Vides sent into Spain for a patent to discover and conquer Guiana, not knowing of the precedence of Berreo's patent, which, as Berreo affirmeth, was signed before that of Vides: so as when Vides understood of Berreo, and that he had made entrance into that territory, and foregone his desire and hope, it was verily thought that Vides practised with Morequito to hinder and disturb Berreo in all he could, and not to suffer him to enter through his seignory, nor any of his companies, neither to victual nor guide them in any sort; for Vides, governor of Cumana, and Berreo were become mortal enemies, as well for that Berreo had got Trinidad into his patent with Guiana, as also in that he was by Berreo prevented in the journey of Guiana itself. Howsoever, it was I know not, but Morequito for a time dissembled his disposition, suffered Spaniards and a friar (which Berreo had sent to discover Manoa) to travel through his country, gave them a guide for Macureguarai, the first town of civil and apparelled people, from whence they had other guides to

bring them to Manoa, the great city of Inga ; and being furnished with those things, which they had learned of Carapana were of most price in Guiana, went onward, and in eleven days arrived at Manoa, as Berreo affirmeth for certain : although I could not be assured thereof by the lord which now governeth the Province of Morequito, for he told me that they got all the gold they had in other towns on this side Manoa, there being many very great and rich, and (as he said) built, like the towns of Christians, with many rooms.

When these ten Spaniards were returned, and ready to put out of the border of Arromaia, the people of Morequito set upon them, and slew them all but one, that swam the river, and took from them to the value of 40,000 pesos of gold, and as it is written in the story of Job, one only lived to bring the news to Berreo, that both his nine soldiers and holy father were benighted in the said province. I myself spoke with the captains of Morequito that slew them, and was at the place where it was executed. Berreo, enraged herewithal, sent all the strength he could make into Arromaia, to be revenged of him, his people, and country ; but Morequito suspecting the same, fled over Orinoco, and

through the territories of the Saima and Wikiri, recovered Cumana, where he thought himself very safe with Vides, the governor. But Berreo sending for him in the king's name, and his messengers finding him in the house of one Fashardo on the sudden, ere it was suspected, so as he could not then be conveyed away, Vides durst not deny him, as well to avoid the suspicion of the practice, as also for that an holy father was slain by him and his people. Morequito offered Fashardo the weight of three quintals in gold to let him escape, but the poor Guianian, betrayed of all sides, was delivered to the camp-master of Berreo, and was presently executed.

After the death of this Morequito, the soldiers of Berreo spoiled his territory, and took divers prisoners; among others, they took the uncle of Morequito, called Topiawari, who is now king of Arromaia (whose son I brought with me into England), and is a man of great understanding and policy: he is above one hundred years old, and yet of a very able body. The Spaniards led him in a chain seventeen days, and made him their guide from place to place between his country and Emeria, the province of Carapana aforesaid, and

was at last redeemed for one hundred plates of gold, and divers stones called Piedras Hijadas, or spleen stones. Now Berreo, for executing of Morequito and other cruelties, spoils, and slaughters done in Arromaia, hath lost the love of the Orinocoponi, and of all the borderers, and dare not send any of his soldiers any farther into the land than to Carapana, which he calleth the port of Guiana: but from thence, by the help of Carapana, he had trade farther into the country, and always appointed ten Spaniards to reside in Carapana's town; by whose favour, and by being conducted by his people, those ten searched the country thereabouts as well for mines as for other trades and commodities.

They have also gotten a nephew of Morequito, whom they have christened and named Don Juan, of whom they have great hope, endeavouring by all means to establish him in the said province. Among many other trades, those Spaniards used in canoes to pass to the rivers of Barema, Pawroma, and Dissequebe, which are on the south side of the mouth of Orinoco, and there buy women and children from the cannibals, which are of that barbarous nature, as they will for three or four

hatchets sell the sons and daughters of their own brethren and sisters, and for somewhat more even their own daughters: hereof the Spaniards make great profit, for buying a maid of twelve or thirteen years for three or four hatchets, they sell them again at Marguerita, in the West Indies, for fifty and one hundred pesos, which is so many crowns.

The master of my ship, John Douglas, took one of the canoes which came laden from thence with people to be sold, and the most of them escaped, yet of those he brought there was one as well favoured and as well shaped as ever I saw any in England, and afterward I saw many of them, which, but for their tawny colour, may be compared to any of Europe. They also trade in those rivers for bread of cassavi, of which they buy an hundred pound weight for a knife, and sell it at Marguerita for ten pesos. They also recover great store of cotton, Brazil wood, and those beds which they call hamacas, or Brazil beds, wherein in hot countries all the Spaniards use to lie commonly, and in no other; neither did we ourselves while we were there. By means of which trades, for ransom of divers of the Guianians, and for ex-

change of hatchets and knives, Berreo recovered some store of gold plates, eagles of gold, and images of men and divers birds, and despatched his camp-master for Spain with all that he had gathered, therewith to levy soldiers, and by the show thereof to draw others to the love of the enterprise: and having sent divers images as well of men as beasts, birds, and fishes so curiously wrought in gold, doubted not but to persuade the king to yield to him some further help, especially for that this land hath never been sacked, the mines never wrought, and in the Indies their works were well spent, and the gold drawn out with great labour and charge; he also despatched messengers to his son in Nuevo reyno to levy all the forces he could, and to come down the river of Orinoco to Emeria, the province of Carapana, to meet him: he had also sent to Sant Iago de Leon, on the coast of the Caracas, to buy horses and mules.

After I had thus learned of his proceedings past and purposed, I told him that I had resolved to see Guiana, and that it was the end of my journey, and the cause of my coming to Trinidad, as it was indeed (and for that purpose I sent James Whiddon

the year before to get intelligence, with whom Berreo himself had speech at that time, and remembered how inquisitive James Whiddon was of his proceedings, and of the country of Guiana), Berreo was stricken into a great melancholy and sadness, and used all the arguments he could to dissuade me, and also assured the gentlemen of my company that it would be labour lost; and that they should suffer many miseries if they proceeded. And first he delivered that I could not enter any of the rivers with any barque or pinnace, nor hardly with any ship's boat, it was so low, sandy, and full of flats, and that his companies were daily grounded in their canoes, which drew but twelve inches water. He further said that none of the country would come to speak with us, but would all fly, and if we followed them to their dwellings they would burn their own towns, and besides that the way was long, the winter at hand, and that the rivers beginning once to swell, it was impossible to stem the current, and that we could not in those small boats by any means carry victual for half the time, and that (which indeed most discouraged my company) the kings and lords of all the borders and of Guiana had decreed that none of

them should trade with any Christian for gold, because the same would be their own overthrow, and that for the love of gold the Christians meant to conquer and dispossess them of all together.

Many and the most of these I found to be true, but yet I resolving to make trial of all whatsoever happened, directed Captain George Gifford, my Vice-admiral, to take the *Lion's Whelp*, and Captain Oalfield his barque, to turn to the eastward, against the breeze what they could possible, to recover the mouth of a river called Capuri, whose entrance I had before sent Captain Whiddon and John Douglas, the master, to discover, who found some nine foot water or better upon the flood, and five at low water, to whom I had given instructions that they should anchor at the edge of the shoal, and upon the best of the flood to thrust over, which shoal John Douglas buoyed and beckoned for them before, but they laboured in vain, for neither could they turn it up altogether so far to the east, neither did the flood continue so long, but the water fell ere they could have passed the sands, as we after found by a second experience ; so as now we must either give over our enterprise, or leaving our ships at adventure four hundred miles

behind us, to run up in our ship's boats, one barge, and two wherries, but being doubtful how to carry victuals for so long a time in such hables, or any strength of men, especially for that Berreo assured us that his son must be by that time come down with many soldiers, I sent away one King, master of the *Lion's Whelp*, with his ship's boat, to try another branch of a river in the bottom of the bay of Guanipa, which was called Amana, to prove if there were water to be found for either of the small ships to enter. But when he came to the mouth of Amana, he found it as the rest, but stayed not to discover it thoroughly, because he was assured by an Indian, his guide, that the cannibals of Guanipa would assail them with many canoes, and that they shot poisoned arrows, so as if he hasted not back they should all be lost.

In the meantime, fearing the worst, I caused all the carpenters we had to cut down a gallego boat, which we meant to cast off, and to fit her with banks to row on, and in all things to prepare her the best they could, so as she might be brought to draw but five foot, for so much we had on the bar of Capuri at low water. And doubting of King's return, I sent John Douglas again in my long

barge, as well to relieve him as also to make a perfect search in the bottom of that bay, for it hath been held for infallible that whatsoever ship or boat shall fall therein can never disembark again, by reason of the violent current which setteth into the said bay, as also for that the breeze and easterly wind bloweth directly into the same, of which opinion I have heard John Hampton of Plymouth, one of the greatest experience of England, and divers others besides that have traded Trinidad.

I sent with John Douglas an old Cazique of Trinidad for a pilot, who told us that we could not return again by the bay or gulf, but that he knew a bye branch which ran within the land to the eastward, and that he thought by it we might fall into Capuri, and so return in four days. John Douglas searched those rivers, and found four goodly entrances, whereof the least was as big as the Thames at Woolwich, but in the bay thitherward it was shoal and but six-foot water, so ^{as} we were now without hope of any ship or barque to pass over, and therefore resolved to go on with the boats, and the bottom of the gallego, in which we thrust sixty men; in the *Lion's Whelp's* boat and

wherry we carried twenty. Captain Calfield, in his wherry, carried ten more, and in my barge another ten, which made up a hundred. We had no other means but to carry victuals for a month in the same, and also to lodge therein as we could, and to boil and dress our meat. Captain Gifford had with him Master Edward Porter, Captain Eynos, and eight more in his wherry, with all their victuals, weapons, and provisions. Captain Calfield had with him my cousin, Butthead Gorges, and eight more. In the galley, of gentlemen and officers myself had Captain Thyn, my cousin John Greenville, my nephew, John Gilbert, Captain Whiddon, Captain Keymis, Edward Hancock, Captain Clarke, Lieutenant Hewes, Thomas Upton, Captain Facy, Jerome Ferrar, Anthony Wells, William Connock, and about fifty more. We could not learn of Berreo any other way to enter but in branches, so far to the windward as it was impossible for us to recover, for we had as much sea to cross over in our wherries as between Dover and Calais, and in a great billow, the wind and current being both very strong, so as we were driven to go in those small boats directly before the wind into the bottom of the Bay of Guanipa, and from thence to enter the

mouth of some one of those rivers, which John Douglas had last discovered, and had with us for pilot an Indian of Barema, a river to the south of Orinoco, between that and the Amazons, whose canoes we had formerly taken as he was going from the said Barema, laden with cassavi bread to sell at Marguerita; this Arwacan promised to bring me into the great river Orinoco, but indeed of that which we entered he was utterly ignorant, for he had not seen it in twelve years before, at which time he was very young, and of no judgment, and if God had not sent us another help, we might have wandered a whole year in that labyrinth of rivers, ere we had found any way, either out or in, especially after we were past the ebbing and flowing, which was in four days: for I know all the earth doth not yield the like confluence of streams and branches, the one crossing the other so many times, and all so fair and large, and so like one to another, as no man can tell which to take, and if we went by the sun or compass, hoping thereby to go directly one way or other, yet that way we were also carried in a circle amongst multitudes of islands, and every island so bordered with high trees, as no man could see any farther

than the breadth of the river or length of the breach. But this it chanced that entering into a river (which because it had no name we called the river of the Red Cross, ourselves being the first Christians that ever came therein), the 22nd of May, as we were rowing up the same, we espied a small canoe with three Indians, which, by the swiftness of my barge, rowing with eight oars, I overtook ere they could cross the river; the rest of the people on the banks, shadowed under the thick wood, gazed on with a doubtful conceit what might befall those three which we had taken. But when they perceived that we offered them no violence, neither entered their canoe with any of ours, nor took out of the canoe any of theirs, they then began to show themselves on the bank's side, and offered to traffic with us for such things as they had, and as we drew near they all stayed, and we came with our barge to the mouth of a little creek, which came from their town into the great river.

As we abode there a while, our Indian pilot, called Ferdinando, would needs go ashore to their village to fetch some fruits, and to drink of their artificial wines, and also to see the place, and to

know the lord of it against another time, and took with him a brother of his which he had with him in the journey ; when they came to the village of these people, the lord of the island offered to lay hands on them, purposing to have slain them both, yielding for reason that this Indian of ours had brought a strange nation into their territory to spoil and destroy them. But the pilot, being quick and of a disposed body, slipped their fingers, and ran into the woods, and his brother being the better footman of the two, recovered the creek's mouth, where we stayed in our barge, crying out that his brother was slain ; with that we set hands on one of them that was next us, a very old man, and brought him into the barge, assuring him that if we had not our pilot again, we would presently cut off his head. This old man being resolved that he should pay the loss of the other, cried out to those in the woods to save Ferdinando, our pilot, but they followed him notwithstanding, and hunted after him upon the foot with their deer dogs, and with so main a cry that all the woods echoed with the shout they made, but at last this poor chased Indian recovered the river side, and got upon a tree, and as we were coasting, leaped

down and swam to the barge, half dead with fear ; but our good hap was that we kept the other old Indian, which we handfasted to redeem our pilot, withal, for being natural of those rivers, we assured ourselves he knew the way better than any stranger could, and indeed, but for this chance I think we had never found the way either to Guiana or back to our ships : for Ferdinando, after a few days, knew nothing at all, nor which way to turn ; yea, and many times the old man himself was in great doubt which river to take. Those people which dwell in these broken islands and drowned lands are generally called Tiutinas ; there are of them two sorts, the one called Ciawani, and the other Waraweete.

The great river of the Orinoco or Baraquan hath nine branches, which fall out on the north side of his own main mouth ; on the south side it hath seven other fallings into the sea, so it disembogueth by sixteen arms in all, between islands and broken ground, but the islands are very great, many of them as big as the Isle of Wight and bigger, and many less ; from the first branch on the north to the last of the south it is at least a hundred leagues, so as the river's mouth is no less than

three hundred miles wide at its entrance into the sea, which I take to be far bigger than that of the Amazons; all those that inhabit in the mouth of this river upon the several north branches are these Tiuitiuas, of which there are two chief lords, which have continual wars one with the other. The islands which lie on the right hand are called Pallamos, and the land on the left Hororotomaka, and the river by which John Douglas returned within the land from Amana to Capuri, they call Macuri.

These Tiuitiuas are a very goodly people and very valiant, and have the most manly speech and most deliberate that ever I heard, of what nation soever. In the summer they have houses on the ground, as in other places; in the winter they dwell upon the trees, where they build very artificial towns and villages, as it is written in the Spanish story of the West Indies, that those people do in the low lands near the Gulf of Uraba; for between May and September the river of the Orinoco riseth thirty foot upright, and then are those islands overflown twenty foot high above the level of the ground, saving some few raised grounds in the middle of them; and for this cause they are

enforced to live in this manner. They never eat of anything that is set or sown, and as at home they use neither planting nor other manuring, so when they come abroad they refuse to feed of aught but of that which Nature without labour bringeth forth. They use the tops of palmitos for bread, and kill deer, fish, and pork for the rest of their sustenance; they have also many sorts of fruits that grow in the woods, and great variety of birds and fowl.

And if to speak of them were not tedious and vulgar, surely we saw in those passages of very rare colours and forms, not elsewhere to be found, forasmuch as I have either seen or read. Of these people, those that dwell upon the branches of the Orinoco, called Capuri and Macureo, are for the most part carpenters of canoes, for they make the most and fairest houses, and sell them into Guiana for gold, and into Trinidad for tobacco, in the excessive taking whereof they exceed all nations; and notwithstanding the moistness of the air in which they live, the hardness of their diet, and the great labours they suffer to hunt, fish, and fowl for their living, in all my life, either in the Indies or in Europe, did I never behold a more goodly or

better favoured people, or a more manly. They were wont to make war upon all nations, and especially upon the cannibals, so as none durst without a good strength trade by those rivers; but of late they are at peace with their neighbours, all holding the Spaniards for a common enemy. When their commanders die, they use great lamentation, and when they think the flesh of their bodies is putrefied and fallen from the bones, then they take up the carcase again, and hang it in the Ouzique's house that died, and deck his skull with feathers of all colours, and hang all his gold plates about the bones of his arms, thighs, and legs. Those nations which are called Arwacas, which dwell on the south of the Orinoco (of which place and nation our Indian pilot was), are dispersed in many other places, and do use to beat the bones of their lords into powder, and their wives and friends drink it all in their several sorts of drinks.

After we departed from the port of these Ciawani we passed up the river with the flood, and anchored the ebb, and in this sort we went onward. The third day that we entered the river our galley came on ground, and stuck so fast as

we thought that even there our discovery had ended, and that we must have left sixty of our men to have inhabited like rooks upon trees with those nations: but the next morning, after we had cast out all her ballast, with tugging and hauling to and fro, we got her afloat, and went on. At four days end we fell into as goodly a river as ever I beheld, which was called the great Amana, which ran more directly without windings and turnings than the other. But soon after the flood of the sea left us, and we enforced either by main strength to row against a violent current, or to return as wise as we went out, we had then no shift but to persuade the companies that it was but two or three days' work, and therefore desired them to take pains, every gentleman and others taking their turns to row, and to spell one the other at the oar's end. Every day we passed by goodly branches of rivers, some falling from the west, others from the east, into Amana, but those I leave to the description in the chart of discovery, where every one shall be named, with his rising and descent. When three days more were overgone, our companies began to despair, the weather being extremely hot, the river bordered with very high

trees that kept away the air, and the current against us every day stronger than other. But we evermore commanded our pilots to promise an end the next day, and used it so long as we were driven to assure them from four reaches of the river to three, and so to two, and so to the next reach; but so long we laboured as many days were spent, and so driven to draw ourselves to harder allowance, our bread even at the last, and no drink at all; and our men and ourselves so wearied and scorched, and doubtful withal whether we should ever perform it or no, the heat increasing as we drew towards the line: for we were now in five degrees.

The farther we went on (our victual decreasing and the air breeding great faintness) we grew weaker and weaker when we had most need of strength and ability, for hourly the river ran more violently than other against us, and the barge, wherries, and ship's boat of Captain Gifford and Captain Calfield had spent all their provisions, so as we were brought into despair and discomfort, had we not persuaded all the company that it was but only one day's work more to attain the land, where we should be relieved of all we wanted, and

if we returned that we were sure to starve by the way, and that the world would also laugh us to scorn. On the banks of these rivers were divers sorts of fruits good to eat, flowers and trees of that variety as were sufficient to make ten volumes of herbals; we relieved ourselves many times with the fruits of the country, and sometimes with fowl and fish; we saw birds of all colours, some carnation, some crimson, orange tawny, purple, green, watched, and of all other sorts both simple and mixed, as it was unto us a great good passing of the time to behold them, besides the relief we found by killing some store of them with our fowling pieces, without which, having little or no bread and less drink, but only the thick and troubled water of the river, we had been in a very hard case.

Our old pilot of the Ciawani (whom, as I said before, we took to redeem Ferdinando) told us, that if we would enter a branch of a river on the right hand with our barge and wherries, and leave the galley at anchor the while in the great river, he would bring us to a town of the Arwacas where we should find store of bread, hens, fish, and of the country wine, and persuaded us that

departing from the galley at noon, we might return ere night. I was very glad to hear this speech, and presently took my barge, with eight musketeers, Captain Gifford's wherry with himself and four musketeers, and Captain Calfield with his wherry and as many, and so we entered the mouth of this river, and because we were persuaded that it was so near, we took no victual with us at all. When we had rowed three hours we marvelled we saw no sign of any dwelling, and asked the pilot where the town was; he told us a little farther. After three hours more, the sun being almost set, we began to suspect that he led us that way to betray us, for he confessed that those Spaniards which fled from Trinidad, and also those that remained with Carapana in Emeria, were joined together in some village upon that river. But when it grew towards night, and we demanding where the place was, he told us but four reaches more. When we had rowed four and four, we saw no sign, and our poor watermen, even heart-broken and tired, were ready to give up the ghost; for we had now come from the galley near forty miles.

At the last we determined to hang the pilot,

and if we had well known the way back again by night, he had surely gone, but our own necessities pleaded sufficiently for his safety; for it was as dark as pitch, and the river began so to narrow itself, and the trees to hang over from side to side, as we were driven with arming swords to cut a passage through those branches that covered the water. We were very desirous to find this town, hoping of a feast, because we made but a short breakfast aboard the galley in the morning, and it was now eight o'clock at night, and our stomachs began to gnaw apace; but whether it was best to return or go on, we began to doubt, suspecting treason in the pilot more and more. But the poor old Indian ever assured us that it was but a little farther, and but this one turning, and that turning, and at last about one o'clock after midnight we saw a light, and rowing towards it, we heard the dogs of the village. When we landed we found few people, for the lord of that place was gone with divers canoes above 400 miles off, upon a journey towards the head of the Orinoco to trade for gold, and to buy women of the cannibals, who afterwards unfortunately passed by us as we rode at an anchor in the port of Morequito in the dark

of night, and yet came so near us, as his canoes grated against our barges. He left one of his company at the port of Morequito, by whom we understood that he had brought thirty young women, divers plates of gold, and had great store of fine pieces of cotton cloth and cotton beds. In his house we had good store of bread, fish, hens, and Indian drink, and so rested that night; and in the morning, after we had traded with such of his people as came down, we returned towards our galley, and brought with us some quantity of bread, fish, and hens.

On both sides of this river we passed the most beautiful country that ever mine eyes beheld; and whereas all that we had seen before was nothing but woods, prickles, bushes, and thorns, here we beheld plains of twenty miles in length, the grass short and green, and in divers parts groves of trees by themselves, as if they had been by all the art and labour in the world so made of purpose; and still as we rowed, the deer came down feeding by the water side, as if they had been used to a keeper's call. Upon this river there were great store of fowl, and of many sorts; we saw in it divers sorts of strange fishes, and of

marvellous bigness; but for lagartos it exceeded, for there were thousands of those ugly serpents, and the people call it, for the abundance of them, the river of lagartos in their language. I had a negro, a very proper young fellow, who leaping out of the galley to swim in the mouth of this river, was in all our sights taken and devoured by one of those lagartos. In the meanwhile our companies in the galley thought we had been all lost (for we promised to return before night), and sent the *Lion's Whelps* ship's boat with Captain Whiddon to follow us up the river; but the next day after we had rowed up and down some four-score miles we returned, and went on our way up the great river; and when we were even at the last cast for want of victuals, Captain Gifford being before the galley and the rest of the boats, seeking out some place to land upon the banks to make fire, espied four canoes coming down the river, and with no small joy caused his men to try the utmost of their strength, and after a while two of the four gave over, and ran themselves ashore, every man betaking himself to the fastness of the woods: the two other lesser got away, while he landed to lay hold of these, and so turned into some by creek,

we knew not whither: those canoes that were taken were laden with bread, and were bound for Marguerita in the West Indies, which those Indians (called Arwacas) purposed to carry thither for exchange. But in the lesser there were three Spaniards, who having heard of the defeat of their governor in Trinidad, and that we purposed to enter Guiana, came away in those canoes: one of them was a cavallero, as the captain of the Arwacas after told us, another a soldier, and the third a refiner.

In the meantime, nothing on the earth could have been more welcome to us next unto gold than the great store of very excellent bread which we found in these canoes, for now our men cried, "Let us go on, we care not how far." After that Captain Gifford had brought the two canoes to the galley, I took my barge and went to the bank side with a dozen shot, where the canoes first ran themselves ashore, and landed there, sending out Captain Gifford and Captain Thyn on one hand, and Captain Calfield on the other, to follow those that were fled into the woods, and as I was creeping through the bushes, I saw an Indian basket hidden, which was the refiner's basket, for I found in it his quicksilver,

saltpetre, and divers things for the trial of metals, and also the dust of such ore as he had refined; but in those canoes which escaped there was a good quantity of ore and gold. I then landed more men, and offered £500 to what soldier soever could take one of those three Spaniards that we thought were landed. But our labours were in vain in that behalf, for they put themselves into one of the small canoes, and so while the greater canoes were in taking they escaped; but seeking after the Spaniards, we found the Arwacas hidden in the woods which were pilots for the Spaniards, and rowed their canoes; of which I kept the chiefest for a pilot, and carried him with me to Guiana, by whom I understood where and in what countries the Spaniards had laboured for gold, though I made not the same known to all, for when the springs began to break and the rivers to raise themselves so suddenly as by no means we could abide the digging of any mine, especially for that the richest are defended with rocks of hard stone, which we call the white spar, and that it required both time, men, and instruments fit for such a work, I thought it best not to hover thereabouts, lest if the same had been perceived by the company, there

would have been by this time many barks and ships set out, and perchance other nations would also have gotten of ours for pilots, so as both ourselves might have been prevented, and all our care taken for good usage of the people been utterly lost by those that only respect present profit, and such violence or insolence offered as the nations which are borderers would have changed their desire of our love and defence into hatred and violence. And for any longer stay to have brought a more quantity (which I hear hath been often objected), whosoever had seen or proved the fury of that river after it began to rise, and had been a month and odd days as we were from hearing aught from our ships, leaving them meanly manned above 400 miles off, would perchance have turned somewhat sooner than we did, if all the mountains had been gold or rich stones. And to say the truth, all the branches and small rivers which fell into the Orinoco were raised with such speed, as if we waded them over the shoes in the morning outward, we were covered to the shoulders homeward the very same day: and to stay to dig out gold with our nails had been *opus laboris*, but not *ingenii*; such a quantity as would have served our

turns we could not have had, but a discovery of the mines to our infinite disadvantage we had made, and that could have been the best profit of further search or stay; for those mines are not easily broken, nor opened in haste, and I could have returned a good quantity of gold ready cast, if I had not shot at another mark than present profit.

This Arwacan pilot with the rest, feared that we would have eaten them, or otherwise have put them to some cruel death, for the Spaniards, to the end that none of the people in the passage towards Guiana or in Guiana itself might come to speech with us, persuaded all the nations that we were men eaters and cannibals; but when the poor men and women had seen us, and that we gave them meat, and to every one something or other, which was rare and strange to them, they began to conceive the deceit and purpose of the Spaniards, who indeed (as they confessed) took from them both their wives and daughters daily, by strength. But I protest before the majesty of the living God, that I neither know nor believe that any of our company one or other, by violence or otherwise, ever took any of their

women, and yet we saw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of those very young and excellently favoured which came among us without deceit.

Nothing got us more love among them than this usage, for I suffered not any man to take from any of the nations so much as a pine, or a potato root, without giving them contentment, nor any man so much as offer to touch any of their wives or daughters, which course, so contrary to the Spaniards (who tyrannise over them in all things), drew them to admire her Majesty, whose commandment I told them it was, and also wonderfully to honour our nation. But I confess it was a very impatient work to keep the meaner sort from spoil and stealing, when we came to their houses, which because in all I could not prevent, I caused my Indian interpreter at every place when we departed to know of the loss or wrong done, and if aught were stolen or taken by violence, either the same was restored, and the party punished in their sight, or else it was paid for to their uttermost demand. They also much wondered at us, after they heard that we had slain the Spaniards at Trinidad, for they were before resolved that no

nation of Christians durst abide their presence, and they wondered more when I had made them know of the great overthrow that her Majesty's army and fleet had given them of late years in their own countries.

After we had taken in this supply of bread, with divers baskets of roots, which were excellent meat, I gave one of the canoes to the Arwacas, which belonged to the Spaniards that were escaped ; and when I had dismissed all but the captain (who by the Spaniards was christened Martin), I sent back in the same canoe the old Ciawan, and Ferdinando, my first pilot, and gave them both such things as they desired, with sufficient victual to carry them back, and by them wrote a letter to the ships, which they promised to deliver, and performed it, and then I went on with my new hired pilot, Martin the Arwacan ; but the next or second day after we came aground again with our galley, and were like to cast her away with all our victual and provision, and so lay on the sand one whole night, and were far more in despair at this time to free her than before, because we had no tide of flood to help us, and therefore feared that all our hopes would have ended in mishaps ; but we fastened an

anchor upon the land, and with main strength drew her off; and so the fifteenth day we discovered afar off the mountains of Guiana to our great joy, and towards the evening had a slent of a northerly wind that blew very strong, which brought us in sight of the great river of the Orinoco, out of which this river descended wherein we were; we descried afar off three other canoes as far as we could discern them, after whom we hastened with our barge and wherries, but two of them passed out of sight, and the third entered up the great river, on the right hand to the westward, and there stayed out of sight, thinking that we meant to take the way eastward towards the province of Carapana, for that way the Spaniards keep, not daring to go upwards to Guiana, the people in those parts being all their enemies, and those in the canoes thought us to have been those Spaniards that were fled from Trinidad, and had escaped killing; and when we came so far down as the opening of that branch into which they slipped, being near them with our barge and wherries, we made after them, and ere they could land, came within call, and by our interpreter told them what we were, wherewith they came back willingly

aboard us ; and of such fish and tortugas' eggs as they had gathered, they gave us, and promised in the morning to bring the lord of that part with them, and to do us all other services they could.

That night we came to an anchor at the parting of three goodly rivers ; the one was the river of Amana, by which we came from the north, and ran athwart towards the south, the other two were of the Orinoco, which crossed from the west and ran to the sea towards the east, and landed upon a fair sand, where we found thousands of tortugas' eggs, which are very wholesome meat, and greatly restoring, so as our men were now well filled and highly contented both with the fare and nearness of the land of Guiana, which appeared in sight. In the morning there came down according to promise the lord of that border called Toparimaca, with some thirty or forty followers, and brought us divers sorts of fruits, and of his wine, bread, fish, and flesh, whom we also feasted as we could ; at least he drank good Spanish wine, whereof we had a small quantity in bottles, which above all things they love. I conferred with this Toparimacá of the next way to Guiana, who conducted our galley

and boats to his own port, and carried us from thence some mile and a half to his town, where some of our captains caroused of his wine till they were reasonably pleasant, for it is very strong with pepper, and the juice of divers herbs, and fruits digested and purged; they keep it in great earthen pots of ten or twelve gallons very clean and sweet, and are themselves at their meetings and feasts the greatest carousers and drunkards of the world. When we came to his town we found two Caziques, whereof one of them was a stranger that had been up the river in trade, and his boats, people, and wife encamped at the port where we anchored, and the other was of that country a follower of Toparimaca: they lay each of them in a cotton hamaca, which we call brasil beds, and two women attending them with six cups and a little ladle to fill them, out of an earthen pitcher of wine, and so they drank each of them three of those cups at a time, one to the other, and in this sort they drink drunk at their feasts and meetings.

That Cazique that was a stranger had his wife staying at the port where we anchored, and in all my life I have seldom seen a better favoured woman. She was of good stature, with black eyes,

fat of body, of an excellent countenance, her hair almost as long as herself, tied up again in pretty knots, and it seemed she stood not in that awe of her husband as the rest, for she spake and discoursed, and drank among the gentlemen and captains, and was very pleasant, knowing her own comeliness, and taking great pride therein. I have seen a lady in England so like her, as but for the difference of colour I would have sworn might have been the same.

The seat of this town of Toparimaca was very pleasant, standing on a little hill, in an excellent prospect, with goodly gardens a mile compass round about it, and two very fair and large ponds of excellent fish adjoining. This town is called Arowacai: the people are of the nation called Nepoios, and are followers of Carapana. In that place I saw very aged people, that we might perceive all their sinews and veins without any flesh, and but even as a case covered only with skin. The lord of this place gave me an old man for pilot, who was of great experience and travel, and knew the river most perfectly both by day and night, and it shall be requisite for any man that passeth it to have such a pilot, for it is four, five,

and six miles over in many places, and twenty miles in other places, with wonderful eddies and strong currents, many great islands and divers shoals, and many dangerous rocks, and besides upon any increase of wind so great a billow, as we were sometimes in great peril of drowning in the galley, for the small boats durst not come from the shore but when it was very fair.

The next day we hastened thence, and having an easterly wind to help us, we spared our arms from rowing; for after we entered the Orinoço, the river lieth for the most part east and west, even from the sea unto Quito in Peru. This river is navigable with ships little less than 1,000 miles, and from the place where we entered it may be sailed up in small pinnaces to many of the best parts of Nuevo reyno de Granado, and of Popayan: and from no place may the cities of these parts of the Indies be so easily taken and invaded as from hence. All that day we sailed up a branch of that river, having on the left hand a great island, which they call Assapana, which may contain some five and twenty miles in length, and six miles in breadth, the great body of the river running on the other side of this island: beyond that middle

branch there is also another island in the river, called Iwana, which is twice as big as the Isle of Wight, and beyond it, and between it and the main of Guiana, runneth a third branch of the Orinoco called Arraroopana : all three are goodly branches, and all navigable for great ships. I judge the river in this place to be at least thirty miles broad, reckoning the islands which divide the branches in it, for afterwards I sought also both the other branches.

After we reached to the head of this island, called Assapana, a little to the westward on the right hand there opened a river which came from the north, called Europa, and fell into the great river ; and beyond it, on the same side, we anchored for that night, by another island six miles long, and two miles broad, which they call Ocaywita. From hence in the morning we landed two Guianians, which we found in the town of Toparimaca, that came with us, who went to give notice of our coming to the lord of that country called Putyma, a follower of Topiawari, chief lord of Arromaia, who succeeded Morequito, whom, as you have heard before, Berreo put to death, but his town being far within the land, he

came not unto us that day, so as we anchored again that night near the banks of another island, of bigness much like the other, which they call Putapayma, on the main land, over against which island was a very high mountain called Oecope: we coveted to anchor rather by these islands in the river than by the main, because of the tortugas' eggs, which our people found on them in great abundance, and also because the ground served better for us to cast our nets for fish, the main banks being for the most part stony and high, and the rocks of a blue metalline colour, like unto the best steel ore, which I assuredly take it to be: of the same blue stone are also divers great mountains, which border this river in many places.

The next morning towards nine of the clock we weighed anchor, and the breeze increasing, we sailed always west up the river, and after a while opening the land on the right side, the country appeared to be champaign, and the banks showed very perfect red. I therefore sent two of the little barges with Captain Gifford, and with him Captain Thyn, Captain Calfield, my cousin Greenville, my nephew John Gilbert, Captain Eynus, Master Edward Porter, and my cousin Butthead Gorges,

with some few soldiers, to march over the banks of that red land, and to discover what manner of country it was on the other side, who at their return found it all a plain level, as far as they went or could discern, from the highest tree they could get upon : and my old pilot, a man of great travel, brother to the Cazique Toparimaca, told me, that those were called the plains of the Sayma, and that the same level reached to Cumana, and Carracas in the West Indies, which are 120 leagues to the north, and that there inhabited four principal nations. The first was the Sayma, the next Assawai, the third and greatest the Wikiri, by whom Pedro Hernandez de Serpa before mentioned was overthrown, as he passed with three hundred horse from Cumana towards the Orinoco, in his enterprise of Guiana ; the fourth are called Aroras, and are as black as negroes, but have smooth hair, and these are very valiant, or rather desperate people, and have the most strong poison on their arrows, and most dangerous of all nations, of which poison I will speak somewhat, being a digression not unnecessary.

There was nothing whereof I was more curious than to find out the true remedies of these poisoned

arrows, for besides the mortality of the wound they make, the party shot endureth the most insufferable torment in the world, and abideth a most ugly and lamentable death, sometimes dying stark mad, sometimes their bowels breaking out of their bellies, and are presently discoloured, as black as pitch, and so unsavoury, as no man can endure to cure or to attend them. And it is more strange to know, that in all this time there was never Spaniard, either by gift or torment, that could attain to the true knowledge of the cure, although they have martyred and put to invented torture I know not how many of them. But every one of these Indians know it not, no, not one among thousands, but their soothsayers and priests, who do conceal it, and only teach it but from the father to the son.

Those medicines which are vulgar, and serve for the ordinary poison, are made of the juice of a root called Tupara: the same also quencheth marvellously the heat of burning fevers, and healeth inward wounds, and broken veins, that bleed within the body. But I was more beholding to the Guianians than any other, for Antonio de Berreo told me that he could never attain to the

knowledge thereof, and yet they taught me the best way of healing as well thereof, as of all other poisons. Some of the Spaniards have been cured in ordinary wounds of the common poisoned arrows with the juice of garlic; but this is a general rule for all men that shall hereafter travel the Indies where poisoned arrows are used, that they must abstain from drink, for if they take any liquor into their body, as they shall be marvellously provoked thereunto by drought, I say, if they drink before the wound be dressed, or soon upon it, there is no way with them but present death.

And so I will return again to our journey which for this third day we finished, and cast anchor again near the continent, on the left hand between two mountains, the one called Aroami, and the other Aio. I made no stay here but till midnight, for I feared hourly lest any rain should fall, and then it had been impossible to have gone any further up, notwithstanding that there is every day a very strong breeze and easterly wind. I deferred the search of the country on the Guiana side till my return down the river. The next day we sailed by a great island in the middle of the river, called Manoripano, and as we walked a

while on the island, while the galley got ahead of us, there came after us from the main a small canoe with seven or eight Guianians, to invite us to anchor at their port, but I deferred it till my return; it was that Cazique to whom those Nepoios went, which came with us from the town of Toparimaca; and so the fifth day we reached as high up as the province of Arromaia, the country of Morequito whom Berreo executed, and anchored to the west of an island called Murrecotima, ten miles long and five broad; and that night the Cazique Aramiari (to whose town we made our long and hungry voyage out of the river of Amana) passed by us.

The next day we arrived at the port of Morequito, and anchored there, sending away one of our pilots to seek the king of Aromaiia, uncle to Morequito, slain by Berreo as aforesaid. The next day following before noon he came to us on foot from his house, which was fourteen English miles (himself being 110 years old), and returned on foot the same day, and with him many of the borderers, with many women and children, that came to wonder at our nation, and to bring us down victual, which they did in great plenty, as venison, pork,

hens, chickens, fowl, fish, with divers sorts of excellent fruits, and roots, and great abundance of pines, the princess of fruits, that grow under the sun, especially those of Guiana. They brought us also store of bread, and of their wine, and a sort of Paraquitos, no bigger than wrens, and of all other sorts both small and great; one of them gave me a beast called by the Spaniards Armadillo, which they call Cassacan, which seemeth to be all barred over with small plates somewhat like to a rhinoceros, with a white horn growing in its hinder parts, as big as a great hunting horn, which they used to wind instead of a trumpet. Monardus writeth that a little of the powder of that horn put into the ear cureth deafness.

After this old king had rested a while in a little tent that I caused to be set up, I began by my interpreter to discourse with him of the death of Morequito his predecessor, and afterwards of the Spaniards, and ere I went any further I made him know the cause of my coming thither, whose servant I was, and that the Queen's pleasure was, I should undertake the voyage for their defence, and to deliver them from the tyranny of the Spaniards, dilating at large (as I had done before

to those of Trinidad) her Majesty's greatness, her justice, her charity to all oppressed nations, with as many of the rest of her beauties and virtues as either I could express or they conceive, all which being with great admiration attentively heard, and marvellously admired, I began to sound the old man as touching Guiana and the state thereof, what sort of commonwealth it was, how governed, of what strength and policy, how far it extended, and what nations were friends or enemies adjoining, and finally of the distance, and way to enter the same: he told me that himself and his people, with all those down the river towards the sea, as far as Emeria, the province of Carapana, were of Guiana, but that they called themselves Orinococoni, because they bordered the great river of the Orinoco, and that all the nations between the river and those mountains in sight called Wacarima were of the same cast and appellation; and that on the other side of those mountains of Wacarima there was a large plain (which after I discovered in my return) called the valley of Amariocapana; in all that valley the people were also of the ancient Guianians. I asked what nations those were which inhabited on the further side of those

mountains, beyond the valley of Amariocapana; he answered with a great sigh (as a man which had inward feeling of the loss of his country and liberty, especially for that his eldest son was slain in a battle on that side of the mountains, whom he most entirely loved) that he remembered in his father's lifetime, when he was very old and himself a young man, that there came down into that large valley of Guiana, a nation from so far off as the sun slept (for such were his own words), with so great a multitude as they could not be numbered nor resisted, and that they wore large coats and hats of crimson colour, which colour he expressed by showing a piece of red wood wherewith my tent was supported, and that they were called Oreiones, and Epuremei, those that had slain and rooted out so many of the ancient people as there were leaves in the wood upon all the trees, and had now made themselves lords of all, even to that mountain foot called Curaa, saving only of two nations, the one called Iwarawaqueri, and the other Cassipagotos, and that in the last battle fought between the Epuremei and the Iwarawaqueri, his eldest son was chosen to carry to the aid of the Iwarawaqueri a great troop of the Orinococoni, and was there slain, with

all his people and friends, and that he had now remaining but one son; and farther told me that those Epuremei had built a great town called Macureguarai, at the said mountain foot, at the beginning of the great plains of Guiana, which have no end: and that their houses have many rooms, one over the other, and that therein the great king of the Oreiones and Epuremei kept three thousand men to defend the borders against them, and withal daily to invade and slay them; but that of late years, since the Christians offered to invade his territories and those frontiers, they were all at peace, and traded one with another, saving only the Iwarawaquori, and those other nations upon the head of the river of Caroli, called Cassipagotos, which we afterwards discovered, each one holding the Spaniard for a common enemy.

After he had answered thus far, he desired leave to depart, saying that he had far to go, that he was old and weak, and was every day called for by death, which was also his own phrase. I desired him to rest with us that night, but I could not intreat him, but he told me that at my return from the country above, he would again come to us, and in the meantime provide for us the best

he could, of all that his country yielded ; the same night he returned to Orocotona, his own town, so as he went that day twenty-eight miles, the weather being very hot, the country being situate between four and five degrees of the Equinoctial. This Topiawari is held for the proudest and wisest of all the Orinococoni, and so he behaved himself towards me in all his answers at my return, as I marvelled to find a man of that gravity and judgment, and of so good discourse, that had no help of learning nor breeding.

The next morning we also left the port, and sailed westward up the river, to view the famous river called Caroli, as well because it was marvellous of itself, as also for that I understood it led to the strongest nations of all the frontiers, that were enemies to the Epuremei, which are subjects to Inga, Emperor of Guiana and Manoa ; and that night we anchored at another island called Caiama, of some five or six miles in length, and the next day arrived at the mouth of Caroli. When we were short of it as low or further down as the port of Morequito we heard the great roar and fall of the river, but when we came to enter with our barge and wherries, thinking to have gone up some forty

miles to the nations of the Cassipagotos, we were not able with a barge of eight oars to row one stone's cast in an hour, and yet the river is as broad as the Thames at Woolwich, and we tried both sides and the middle, and every part of the river, so as we encamped upon the banks adjoining, and sent off our Orinocopone (which came with us from Morequito) to give knowledge to the nations upon the river of our being there, and that we desired to see the lords of Canuria, which dwelt within the province upon that river, making them know that we were enemies to the Spaniards (for it was on this river side that Morequito slew the friar, and those nine Spaniards which came from Manoa, the city of Inga, and took from them 40,000 pesos of gold), so as the next day there came down a lord or Cazique called Wanuretona with many people with him, and brought all store of provisions to entertain us, as the rest had done. And as I had before made my coming known to Topiawari, so did I acquaint this Cazique therewith, and how I was sent by her Majesty for the purpose aforesaid, and gathered also what I could of him touching the estate of Guiana, and I found that those also of Caroli were

not only enemies to the Spaniards but most of all to the Epuremei, which abound in gold ; and by this Wanuretona I had knowledge that on the head of this river were three mighty nations, which were seated on a great lake, from whence this river descended, and were called Cassipagotos, Eparagotos, and Arawagotos, and that all those either against the Spaniards or the Epuremei would join with us, and that if we entered the land over the mountains of Curaa, we should satisfy ourselves with gold and all other good things. He told us further of a nation called Iwarawaqueri before spoken of, that held daily war with the Epuremei that inhabited Macureguarai, the first civil town of Guiana, of the subjects of Inga the Emperor.

Upon this river one Captain George, that I took with Berreo, told me there was a great silver mine, and that it was near the banks of the said river. But by this time as well Orinoco, Caroli, as all the rest of the rivers were risen four or five feet in height, so as it was not possible by the strength of any men, or with any boat whatsoever, to row into the river against the stream. I therefore sent Captain Thyn, Captain Greenville, my nephew John Gilbert, my cousin Butthead Gorges, Captain

Clarke, and some thirty shot more, to coast the river by land, and to go to a town some twenty miles over the valley called Annatapoi, and if they found guides there, to go further towards the mountain foot to another great town, called Capurepana, belonging to a Cazique called Haharacoa (that was a nephew to old Topiawari, King of Arromaia, our chiefest friend), because this town and province of Capurepana adjoined to Macureguarai, which was the frontier town of the empire. And the meanwhile myself, with Captain Gifford, Captain Calfield, Edward Hancocke, and some half a dozen shot, marched over land to view the strange overfalls of the river of Caroli, which roared so far off, and also to see the plains adjoining, and the rest of the province of Canuri. I sent also Captain Whiddon, W. Connocke, and some eight shot with them, to see if they could find any mineral stone along the river side. When we ran to the tops of the first hills of the plains adjoining to the river, we beheld that wonderful breach of waters which ran down Caroli; and might from that mountain see the river how it ran in three parts, about twenty miles off, and there appeared some ten or twelve overfalls in sight,

every one as high over the other as a church tower, which fell with that fury that the rebound of waters made it seem as if it had been all covered over with a great shower of rain; and in some places we took it at the first for a smoke that had risen over some great town. For mine own part I was well persuaded from thence to have returned, being a very ill footman, but the rest were all so desirous to go near the said strange thunder of waters, as they drew me on by little and little, till we came into the next valley, where we might better discern the same. I never saw a more beautiful country, nor more lively prospects, hills so raised here and there over the valleys, the river winding into divers branches, the plains adjoining without bush or stubble, all fair green grass, the ground of hard sand, easy to march on either for horse or foot; the deer crossing in every path; the birds towards the evening singing on every tree, with a thousand several tunes; cranes and herons of white, crimson, and carnation perching on the river side; the air fresh with a gentle easterly wind, and every stone that we stooped to take up promised either gold or silver by his complexion. Your lordships shall see of many sorts,

and I hope some of them cannot be bettered under the sun, and yet we had no means but with our daggers and fingers to tear them out here and there, the rocks being most hard of that mineral spar aforesaid and is like a flint, and is altogether as hard, or harder, and besides, the veins lie a fathom or two deep in the rocks. But we wanted all things requisite save only our desires and good will to have performed more if it had pleased God. To be short, when both our companies returned, each of them brought also several sorts of stone that appeared very fair, but were such as they found loose on the ground, and were for the most part but coloured, and had not any gold fixed in them; yet such as had no judgment or experience kept all that glistered, and would not be persuaded but it was rich because of the lustre, and brought of those, and of marquesite withal from Trinidad, and have delivered of those stones to be tried in many places, and have thereby bred an opinion that all the rest is of the same; yet some of these stones I showed afterwards to a Spaniard of the Caracas who told me that it was El Madre deloro, and that the mine was further in the ground. But it shall be found a weak policy in me either to

betray myself or my country with imaginations, neither am I so far in love with that lodging, watching, care, peril, diseases, ill-savours, bad fare, and many other mischiefs that accompany these voyages, as to woo myself again into any of them, were I not assured that the sun covereth not so much riches in any part of the earth. Captain Whiddon and our chirurgion, Nicholas Millechap, brought me a kind of stones like sapphires; what they may prove I know not. I showed them to some of the Orinococoni, and they promised to bring me to a mountain that had of them very large pieces growing diamond wise. Whether it be crystal of the mountain, Bristol diamond, or sapphire, I do not yet know, but I hope the best; sure I am that the place is as likely as those from whence all the rich stones are brought, and in the same height, or very near. On the left hand of this river Caroli are seated those nations which are cull'd Iwarawaqueri before remembered, which are enemies to the Epuremei; and on the head of it, adjoining to the great lake Cassipa, are situate those other nations which also resist Inga, and the Epuremei, called Cassepagotos, Eparegotos, and Arawagotos. I further understood that this lake

of Cassipa is so large, as it is above one day's journey for one of their canoes to cross, which may be some forty miles, and that therein fall divers rivers, and that great store of grains of gold are found in the summer time when the lake falleth by the banks in those branches. There is also another goodly river beyond Caroli which is called Arui, which also runneth through the lake Cassipa, and falleth into the Orinoco further west, making all that land between Caroli and Arui an island, which is likewise a most beautiful country. Next unto Arui there are two rivers, Atoica and Caora, and on that branch which is called Caora are a nation of people whose heads appear not above their shoulders, which though it may be thought a mere fable, yet for mine own part I am resolved it is true, because every child in the provinces of Arromaia and Canuri affirm the same. They are called Ewaipanoma. They are reported to have their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouths in the middle of their breasts, and that a long train of hair groweth backward between their shoulders. The son of Topiawari, which I brought with me into England, told me that they are the most mighty men of all the land, and use bows,

arrows, and clubs thrice as big as any of Guiana or of the Orinococoni, and that one of the Iwarawaqueri took a prisoner of them the year before our arrival there, and brought him into the borders of Arromaia his father's country. And further, when I seemed to doubt of it, he told me that it was no wonder among them, but that they were as great a nation, and as common as any other in all the provinces, and had of late years slain many hundreds of his father's people, and of other nations their neighbours; but it was not my chance to hear of them till I was come away, and if I had but spoken one word of it while I was there, I might have brought one of them with me to put the matter out of doubt. Such a nation was written of by Maundeville, whose reports were held for fables many years, and yet since the East Indies were discovered, we find his relations true of such things as heretofore were held incredible. Whether it be true or no the matter is not great, neither can there be any profit in the imagination; for mine own part I saw them not, but I am resolved that so many people did not all combine or forethink to make the report.

When I came to Cumana in the West Indies

afterwards, by chance I spake with a Spaniard dwelling not far from thence, a man of great travel, and after he knew that I had been in Guiana, and so far directly west as Caroli, the first question he asked me was whether I had seen any of the Ewaipanoma, which are those without heads; who being esteemed a most honest man of his word, and in all things else, told me that he had seen many of them: I may not name him because it may be for his disadvantage, but he is well known to Monsieur Mucheron's son, of London, and to Peter Mucheron, merchant of the Flemish ship that was there in trade, who also heard what he avowed to be true of those people. The fourth river to the west of Caroli is Casnero, which falleth into the Orinoco on this side of Amapaia, and that river is greater than Danubius, or any of Europe: it riseth on the south of Guiana from the mountains which divide Guiana from Amazonas, and I think it to be navigable many hundred miles. But we had no time, means, nor season of the year to search those rivers for the causes aforesaid, the winter being come upon us, although the winter and summer as touching cold and heat differ not, neither do the trees ever sensibly lose their

leaves, but have always fruit either ripe or green, and most of them both blossoms, leaves, ripe fruit, and green at one time ; but their winter only consisteth of terrible rains and overflowings of the rivers, with many great storms and gusts, thunder and lightnings, of which we had our fill ere we returned. On the north side, the first river that falleth into the Orinoco is Cari ; beyond it on the same side is the river of Limo ; between these two is a great nation of cannibals, and their chief town beareth the name of the river, and is called Acama-cari. At this town is a continual market of women for three or four hatchets a piece ; they are bought by the Arwacas, and by them sold into the West Indies. To the west of Limo is the river Pao, beyond it Caturi, beyond that Voari and Capuri, which falleth out of the great river of Meta, by which Berreo descended from Nuevo reyno de Granada. To the westward of Capuri is the province of Amapaia, where Berreo wintered, and had so many of his people poisoned with the tawny water of the marshes of the Anebas. Above Amapaia, toward Nuevo reyno, fall in Meta, Pato, and Cassanar ; to the west of these towards the provinces of the Ashaguas and Catetios are the

rivers of Beta, Dawney, and Ubarro, and towards the frontier of Peru are the provinces of Thomebamba and Caximalta. Adjoining to Quito in the north of Peru are the rivers of Guiacar and Goauar; and on the other side of the said mountains the river of Papamene, which descendeth into Marañon or Amazonas, passing through the province of Mutylones, where Don Pedro de Osua, who was slain by the traitor Agiri before rehearsed, built his brigandines, when he sought Guiana by the way of the Amazonas. Between Dawny and Beta lieth a famous island in Orinoco, now called Baraquan (for above Meta it is not known by the name of Orinoco), which is called Athule, beyond which, ships of burden cannot pass by reason of a most forcible overfall and current of waters: but in the eddy all smaller vessels may be drawn even to Peru itself. But to speak of more of these rivers without the description were but tedious, and therefore I will leave the rest to the description. This river of Orinoco is navigable for ships little less than 1,000 miles, and for lesser vessels near 2,000. By it, as aforesaid, Peru, Nuevo reyno, and Popayan, may be invaded; it also leadeth to that great empire of Inga, and to the

provinces of Amapaia and Anebas, which abound in gold : his branches of Cosnero, Manta, Caora descend from the middle land and valley, which lieth between the eastern province of Peru and Guiana ; and it falls into the sea between Marañon and Trinidad in two degrees and a half, all which your honours shall better perceive in the general description of Guiana, Peru, Nuevo reyno, the kingdom of Popayan, and Roidas, with the province of Venezuela, to the bay of Uraba behind Carthagena westward ; and to Amazonas southward. While we lay at anchor on the coast of Canuri, and had taken knowledge of all the nations upon the head and branches of this river, and had found out so many several people, which were enemies to the Epuremei and the new conquerors, I thought it time lost to linger any longer in that place, especially for that the fury of the Orinoco began daily to threaten us with dangers in our return, for no half-day passed but the river began to rage and overflow very fearfully, and the rains came down in terrible showers, and gusts in great abundance : and withal, our men began to cry out for want of shift, for no man had place to bestow any other apparel than that which he wore on his

back, and that was thoroughly washed on his body for the most part ten times in one day: and we had now been well near a month, every day passing to the westward further and further from our ships. We therefore turned towards the east, and spent the rest of the time in discovering the river towards the sea, which we had not yet viewed, and which was most material. The next day following we left the mouth of Caroli, and arrived again at the port of Morequito where we were before (for passing down the stream we went without labour, and against the wind, little less than 100 miles a day). As soon as I came to anchor, I sent away one for old Topiawari, with whom I much desired to have further conference, and also to deal with him for some one of his country to bring with us into England, as well to learn the language as to confer withal by the way, the time being now spent of any longer stay there. Within three hours after my messenger came to him, he arrived also, and with him such a rabble of all sorts of people, and every one laden with something, as if it had been a great market or fair in England: and our hungry companies clustered thick and threefold among their baskets, every one laying hand on what

he liked. After he had rested awhile in my tent, I shut out all but ourselves and my interpreter, and told him that I knew that both the Epuremei and the Spaniards were enemies to him, his country, and nations: that the one had conquered Guiana already, and that the other sought to regain the same from them both. And therefore I desired him to instruct me what he could, both of the passage into the golden parts of Guiana, and to the civil towns and appavelled people of Inga. He gave me an answer to this effect: first, that he did not perceive that I meant to go onward towards the city of Manoa, for neither the time of the year served, neither could he perceive any sufficient numbers for such an enterprise; and if I did, I was sure with all my company to be buried there, for that the Emperor was of that strength, as that many times so many men more were too few; besides, he gave me this good counsel and advised me to hold it in mind, as for himself he knew, he could not live till my return, that I should not offer by any means hereafter to invade the strong parts of Guiana without the help of all those nations which were also their enemies: for that it was impossible without those, either to be

conducted, to be victualled, or to have aught carried with us, our people not being able to endure the march in so great heat and travel, unless the borderers gave them help, to carry with them both their meat and furniture, for he remembered that in the plains of Macureguarai 300 Spaniards were overthrown, who were tired out, and had none of the borderers to their friends, but meeting their enemies as they passed the frontier, were environed on all sides, and the people setting the long dry grass on fire, smothered them so as they had no breath to fight, nor could discern their enemies for the great smoke. He told me further that four days' journey from his town was Macureguarai, and that those were the next and nearest of the subjects of Inga, and of the Epuremei, and the first town of appavelled and rich people, and that all those plates of gold which were scattered among the borderers, and carried to other nations far and near, came from the said Macureguarai, and were there made, but that those of the land within were far finer, and were fashioned after the image of men, beasts, birds, and fishes. I asked him whether he thought that those companies that I had there with me were sufficient to take that

town or no; he told me that he thought they were. I then asked him whether he would assist me with guides, and some companies of his people to join with us; he answered that he would go himself with all the borderers, if the rivers did remain fordable, upon this condition that I would leave with him till my return again fifty soldiers, which he undertook to victual; I answered that I had not above fifty good men in all there, the rest were labourers and rowers, and that I had no provision to leave with them of powder, shot, apparel, or aught else, and that without those things necessary for their defence, they should be in danger of the Spaniards in my absence, who I knew would use the same measure towards mine that I offered them at Trinidad; and, although upon the motion Captain Calfield, Captain Grenvile, my nephew, John Gilbert, and divers others were desirous to stay, yet I was resolved that they must needs have perished, for Berreo expected daily a supply out of Spain, and looked also hourly for his son to come down from Nuevo reyno de Granada, with many horse and foot, and had also in Valentia in the Caracas, 200 horse ready to march, and I could not have spared above forty, and had not any

store at all of powder, lead, or match to have left with them, nor any other provision, either spade, pickaxe, or aught else to have fortified withal. When I had given him reason that I could not at this time leave him such a company, he then desired me to forbear him and his country for that time, for he assured me that I should be no sooner three days from the coast, but those Epuremei would invade him, and destroy all the remain of his people and friends, if he should any way either guide us or assist us against them. He further alleged that the Spaniards sought his death, and as they had already murdered his nephew, Morequito, lord of that province, so they had him seventeen days in a chain before he was king of the country, and led him like a dog from place to place, until he had paid 100 plates of gold, and divers chains of spleen stones, for his ransom; and now since he became owner of that province that they had many times laid wait to take him, and that they would be now more vehement when they should understand of his conference with the English, and because, said he, they would the better displant me, if they cannot lay hands on me, they have gotten a nephew of mine called Eparacano, whom they

have christened Don Juan, and his son Don Pedro, whom they have also apparelled and armed, by whom they seek to make a party against me, in mine own country: he also hath taken to wife one Louiana, of a strong family, which are my borderers and neighbours: and myself being now old, and in the hands of death, am not able to travel nor to shift, as when I was of younger years; he therefore prayed us to defer it till the next year, when he would undertake to draw in all the borderers to serve us, and then also it would be more seasonable to travel, for at this time of the year we should not be able to pass any river, the waters were and would be so grown ere our return. He further told me that I could not desire so much to invade Macureguari and the rest of Guiana, but that the borderers would be more vehement than I, for he yielded for a chief cause that in the wars with the Epuremei they were spoiled of their women, and that their wives and daughters were taken from them, so as for their own parts they desired nothing of the gold or treasure for their labours, but only to recover women from the Epuremei: for he further complained very sadly (as if it had been a matter of great consequence), that whereas they were

wont to have ten or twelve wives, they were now enforced to content themselves with three or four, and that the lords of the Epuremei had fifty or one hundred. And in truth they were more for women than either for gold or dominion. For the lords of countries desire many children of their own bodies, to increase their races and kindreds, for in those consist their greatest trust and strength. Divers of his followers afterwards desired me to make haste again, that they might sack the Epuremei, and I asked them of what? They answered, of their women for us, and their gold for you; for the hope of many of those women they more desire the war, than either for gold, or for the recovery of their ancient territories. For what between the subjects of Inga, and the Spaniards, those frontiers are grown thin of people, and also great numbers are fled to other nations further off for fear of the Spaniards. After I received this answer of the old man, we fell into consideration, whether it had been of better advice to have entered Macureguarai, and to have begun a war upon Inga at this time, yea or no, if the time of the year and all things else had sorted. For mine own part (as we were not able to march

it for the rivers, neither had any such strength as was requisite, and durst not abide the coming of the winter, or to tarry any longer from our ships), I thought it very evil counsel to have attempted it at that time, although the desire of gold will answer many objections. But it would have been in my opinion an utter overthrow to the enterprise, if the same should be hereafter by her Majesty attempted: for then (whereas now they have heard we were enemies to the Spaniards and were sent by her Majesty to relieve them) they would as good cheap have joined with the Spaniards at our return, as to have yielded unto us, when they had proved that we came both for one errand, and that both sought but to sack and spoil them. But as yet our desire of gold, or our purpose of invasion, is not known unto those of the empire: and it is likely that if her Majesty undertake the enterprise, they will rather submit themselves to her obedience than to the Spaniards, of whose cruelty both themselves and the borderers have already tasted; and, therefore, till I had known her Majesty's pleasure, I would rather have lost the sack of one or two towns, although they might have been very profitable, than to have defaced or endangered the

future hope of so many millions, and the great good and rich trade which England may be possessed of thereby. I am assured now that they will all die even to the last man against the Spaniards, in hope of our succour and return : whereas otherwise if I had either laid hands on the borderers, or ransomed the lords as Berreo did, or invaded the subjects of Inga, I know all had been lost for hereafter. After that I had resolved Topiawari, lord of Aromaia, that I could not at this time leave with him the companies he desired, and that I was contented to forbear the enterprise against the Epuremei till the next year, he freely gave me his only son to take with me into England, and hoped, that though he himself had but a short time to live, yet that by our means his son should be established after his death : and I left with him one Francis Sparrow, a servant of Captain Gifford, who was desirous to tarry, and could describe a country with his pen, and a boy of mine called Hugh Goodwin, to learn the language. I after asked the manner how the Epuremei wrought those plates of gold, and how they could melt it out of the stone ; he told me that the most of the gold which they made in plates and images was not

severed from the stone, but that on the lake of Manoa, and in a multitude of other rivers, they gathered it in grains of perfect gold, and in pieces as big as small stones, and that they put to it a part of copper, otherwise they could not work it, and that they used a great earthen pot with holes round about it, and when they had mingled the gold and copper together, they fastened canes to the holes, and so with the breath of men they increased the fire till the metal ran, and then they cast it into moulds of stone and clay, and so make those plates and images. I have sent your honours of two sorts such as I could by chance recover, more to show the manner of them than for the value: for I did not in any sort make my desire for gold known, because I had neither time nor power to have a greater quantity. I gave among them many more pieces of gold than I received of the new money of twenty shillings with her Majesty's picture to wear, with promise that they would become her servants thenceforth.

I have also sent your honours of the ore, whereof I know some is as rich as the earth yieldeth any, of which I know there is sufficient, if nothing else were to be hoped for. But besides

that we were not able to tarry and search the hills, so we had neither pioneers, bars, sledges, nor wedges of iron, to break the ground, without which there is no working in mines : but we saw all the hills with stones of the colour of gold and silver, and we tried them to be no marquesite, and therefore such as the Spaniards call El Madre del oro, which is an undoubted assurance of the general abundance ; and myself saw the outside of many mines of the white spar, which I know to be the same that all covet in this world, and of those more then I will speak of.

Having learned what I could in Canuri and Aromaia, and received a faithful promise of the principalest of those provinces to become servants to her Majesty, and to resist the Spaniards, if they made any attempt in our absence, and that they would draw in the nations about the lake of Cassipa, and those Iwarawaqueri, I then parted from old Topiawari, and received his son for a pledge between us, and left with him two of ours as aforesaid. To Francis Sparrow I gave instructions to travel to Macureguarai, with such merchandises as I left with him, thereby to learn the place, and if it were possible to go on to the

great city of Manoa: which being done, we weighed anchor, and coasted the river on Guiana side, because we came up on the north side, by the lanes of the Saima and Wikiri.

There came with us from Aromaia a Cazique called Putijma, that commanded the province of Warapana (which Putijma slew the nine Spaniards upon Caroli before spoken of), who desired us to rest at the port of his country, promising to bring us to a mountain adjoining to his town that had stones of the colour of gold, which he performed. And after we had rested there one night, I went myself in the morning, with most of the gentlemen of my company, overland towards the said mountain, marching by a river side called Mana, leaving on the right hand a town called Tuteritona, standing in the province of Tarracoa, of which Wariaaremagoto is principal. Beyond it lieth another town towards the south, in the valley of Amariocapana, which beareth the name of the said valley, whose plains stretch themselves some sixty miles in length, east and west, as fair ground, and as beautiful fields, as any man hath ever seen, with divers copses scattered here and there by the river side, and all as full of deer as any

forest or park in England, and in every lake and river the like abundance of fish and fowl, of which Irraparragota is lord.

From the river of Mana we crossed another river in the said beautiful valley called Oiana, and rested ourselves by a clear lake, which lay in the middle of the said Oiana, and one of our guides kindling us a fire with two sticks, we stayed awhile to dry our shirts, which with the heat hung very wet and heavy on our shoulders. Afterwards we sought the road to pass over towards the mountain called Iconuri, where Putijma foretold us of the mine. In this lake we saw one of the great fishes, as big as a wine pipe, which they call Manati, and is most excellent and wholesome meat. But after I perceived that to pass the said river would require half a day's march more, I was not able myself to endure it, and therefore I sent Captain Keymis with six shot to go on, and gave him order not to return to the port of Putijma, which is called Chiparepare, but to take leisure, and to march down the said valley, as far as a river called Ounaca, where I promised to meet him again (Putijma himself promising also to be his guide). And as they marched, they

left the towns of Emparepana and Capurepana on the right hand, and marched from Putijma's house down the said valley of Amariocapana, and we returning the same day to the river side, saw by the way many rocks, like unto gold ore, and on the left hand a round mountain which consisted of mineral stone.

From hence we rowed down the stream, coasting the province of Parino; as for the branches of rivers which I overpass in discourse, those shall be better expressed in the description with the mountains of Aio, Ara, and the rest, which are situate in the provinces of Parino and Carricurrina. When we were come as far down as the land called Arriacoa (where Orinoco divideth itself into three great branches, each of them being most goodly rivers), I sent away Captain Henry Thyn and Captain Greenvile with the galley the nearest way, and took with me Captain Gifford, Captain Calfield, Edward Porter, and Captain Eynos with mine own barge, and the two wherries, and went down that branch of the Orinoco which is called Cararoopana, which leadeth towards Emeria, the province of Carapana, and towards the east sea, as well to find out Captain Keymis, whom I had sent

overland, as also to acquaint myself with Carapana, who is one of the greatest of all the lords of the Orinococoni ; and when we came to the river of Cumaca (to which Putijma promised to conduct Captain Keynis) I left Captain Eynos and Master Porter in the said river to expect his coming, and the rest of us rowed down the stream towards Emeria.

In this branch called Cararoopana were also many goodly islands, some of six miles long, some of ten, and some of twenty; when it grew towards sunset, we entered a branch of a river that fell into the Orinoco called Winicapora, where I was informed of the mountain of crystal, to which in truth, for the length of the way, and the evil season of the year, I was not able to march, nor abide any longer upon the journey: we saw it afar off, and it appeared like a white church tower of an exceeding height. There falleth over it a mighty river which toucheth no part of the side of the mountain, but rusheth over the top of it and falleth to the ground with a terrible noise and clamour, as if 1,000 great bells were knocked one against another. I think there is not in the world so strange an overfall, nor so wonderful to

behold. Berreo told me that it hath diamonds and other precious stones on it, and that they shined very far off; but what it hath I know not, neither durst he or any of his men ascend to the top of the said mountain, those people adjoining being his enemies (as they were), and the way to it so impassible.

Upon this river of Winicapora we rested a while, and from thence marched into the country to a town called after the name of the river, whereof the chief was one Timitwara, who also offered to conduct me to the top of the said mountain called Wacarima: but when we came in first to the house of the said Timitwara, being upon one of their feast days, we found them all as drunk as beggars, and the pots walking from one to another without rest. We that were weary, and hot with marching, were glad of the plenty, though a small quantity satisfied us, their drink being very strong and heady, and so rested ourselves awhile. After we had fed, we drew ourselves back to our boats, upon the river, and there came to us all the lords of the country, with all such kind of victual as the place yielded, and with their delicate wine of pines, and with abundance

of hens, and other provisions, and of those stones which we call spleen-stones. We understood by these chieftains of Winicapora, that their lord, Carapana, was departed from Emeria which was now in sight, and that he was fled to Cairamo, adjoining to the mountains of Guiana, over the valley called Amariocapana, being persuaded by those ten Spaniards which lay at his house that we would destroy him and his country.

But after these Caziqi of Winicapora and Saporatona his followers perceived our purpose, and saw that we came as enemies to the Spaniards only, and had not so much as harmed any of those nations; no, though we found them to be of the Spaniard's own servants, they assured us that Carapana would be as ready to serve us as any of the lords of the provinces which we had passed; and that he durst do no other till this day but entertain the Spaniards, his country lying so directly in their way, and next of all other to any entrance that should be made in Guiana on that side.

And they further assured us that it was not for fear of our coming that he was removed, but to be acquitted of those Spaniards or any other

that should come hereafter. For the province of Ceiroma is situate at the mountain foot, which divideth the plains of Guiana from the countries of the Orinococoni: by means whereof if any should come in our absence into his towns, he would slip over the mountains into the plains of Guiana among the Epuremei, where the Spaniards durst not follow him without great force.

But in my opinion, or rather I assure myself, that Carapana (being a notable wise and subtle fellow, a man of one hundred years of age, and therefore of great experience) is removed to look on, and if he find that we return strong, he will be ours; if not, he will excuse his departure to the Spaniards, and say it was for fear of our coming.

We therefore thought it bootless to row so far down the stream, or to seek any further for this old fox; and therefore from the river of Waricapana (which lieth at the entrance of Emeria) we turned again, and left to the eastward those four rivers which fall from out the mountains of Emeria and the Orinoco, which are Waracapari, Coirama, Akaniri, and Iparoma: below those four are also these branches and mouths of the Orinoco, which fall into the Est Sea, whereof the first is

Araturi, the next Amacura, the third Barima, the fourth Wana, the fifth Morocca, the sixth Paroma, the last Wijmi: beyond them there fall out of the land between the Orinoco and Amazons fourteen rivers which I forbear to name, inhabited by the Arwacas and cannibals.

It is now time to return towards the north, and we found it a wearisome way back, from the borders of Emeria, to recover up again to the head of the river Carerupana, by which we descended, and where we parted from the galley, which I directed to take the next way to the port of Toparimaca, by which we entered first.

All the night it was stormy and dark, and full of thunder and great showers, so as we were driven to keep close by the banks in our small boats, being all heartily afraid both of the billows and terrible current of the river. By the next morning we recovered the mouth of the river of Cumaca, where we left Captain Eynos and Edward Porter to attend the coming of Captain Keymis over-land; but when we entered the same, they had heard no news of his arrival, which bred in us a great doubt what might be become of him. I rowed up a league or two further into the river,

shooting off pieces all the way, that he might know of our being there, and the next morning we heard them answer us also with a piece. We took them aboard us, and took our leave of Putijma, their guide, who of all others most lamented our departure, and offered to send his son with us into England if we could have stayed till he had sent back to his town. But our hearts were cold to behold the great rage and increase of the Orinoco, and therefore departed and turned towards the west till we had recovered the parting of the three branches aforesaid, that we might put down the stream after the galley.

The next day we landed on the island of Assapana (which divideth the river from that branch by which we went down to Emeria), and there feasted ourselves with that beast which is called Armadillo, presented unto us before at Winicapora, and the day following we recovered the galley at anchor at the port of Toparimaca, and the same evening departed with very foul weather, and terrible thunder and showers, for the winter was come on very far. The best was, we went no less than one hundred miles a day down the river, but by the way we entered it was impossible to return,

for that the river of Amana, being in the bottom of the bay of Guanipa, cannot be sailed back by any means, both the breeze and current of the sea were so forcible, and therefore we followed a branch of the Orinoco called Capuri, which entered into the sea eastward of our ships, to the end we might bear with them before the wind; and it was not without need, for we had by that way as much to cross of the main sea after we came to the river's mouth as between Gravolines and Dover, in such boats as your honours have heard.

To speak of what passed homeward were tedious; either to describe or name any of the rivers, islands, or villages of the Tiuitiuas which dwell on trees; we will leave all those to the general map. And to be short, when we were arrived at the sea side, then grew our greatest doubt and the bitterest of all our journey forepassed, for I protest before God that we were in a most desperate estate, for the same night which we anchored in the mouth of the river of Capuri, where it falleth into the sea, there arose a mighty storm, and the river's mouth was at least a league broad, so as we ran before night close under the land with our small boats, and brought the galley as near as we could;

but she had as much a do to live as could be, and there wanted little of her sinking and all those in her. For mine own part, I confess, I was very doubtful which way to take, either to go over in the pestered galley, there being but six foot of water over the sands for two leagues together, and that also in the channel, and she drew five, or to adventure in so great a billow, and in so doubtful weather, to cross the seas in my barge.* The longer we tarried the worse it was, and therefore I took Captain Gifford, Captain Calfield, and my cousin Greenville into my barge, and after it cleared up, about midnight we put ourselves to God's keeping and thrust out into the sea, leaving the galley at anchor, who durst not adventure but by daylight. And so being all very sober and melancholy, one faintly cheering another to show courage, it pleased God that the next day, about nine of the clock, we descried the Island of Trinidad, and steering for the nearest part of it, we kept the shore till we came to Curiapan, where we found our ships at anchor, than which there was never to us a more joyful sight.

Now that it hath pleased God to send us safe to our ships, it is time to leave Guiana to the sun

whom they worship, and steer away towards the north. I will, therefore, in a few words, finish the discovery thereof. Of the several nations which we found upon this discovery, I will once again make repetition, and how they are affected. At our first entrance into Amana, which is one of the outlets of the Orinoco, we left on the right hand of us in the bottom of the bay, lying directly against Trinidad, a nation of inhuman cannibals, which inhabit the rivers of Guanipa and Berreese ; in the same bay there is also a third river which is called Areo, which riseth on Paria side towards Cumana, and that river is inhabited with the Wikiri, whose chief town upon the said river is Sayma. In this bay there are no more rivers but these three before rehearsed, and the four branches of Amana, all which in the winter thrust so great abundance of water into the sea, as the same is taken up fresh two or three leagues from the land. In the passages towards Guiana (that is, in all those lands which the eight branches of the Orinoco fashion into islands), there are but one sort of people called Tiuitinus, but of two casts as they term them, the one called Ciawary, the other Waraweeti. and those war one with the other.

On the hithermost part of the Orinoco, as at Toparimaca and Winicapora, those are of a nation called Nepoios, and are of the followers of Carapana, Lord of Emeria. Between Winicapora and the port of Morequito, which standeth in Aromaia, and all those in the valley of Amariocapana are called Orinocoponi, and did obey Morequito, and are now followers of Topiawari. Upon the river of Caroli are the Canuri, which are governed by a woman (who is inheritrix of that province), who came far off to see our nation, and asked me divers questions of her Majesty, being much delighted with the discourse of her Majesty's greatness, and wondering at such reports as we truly made of her highness's many virtues. And upon the head of Caroli, and on the lake of Cassipa, are the three-strong nations of the Cassipagotos. Right south into the land are the Capurepani and Emparepani, and beyond those adjoining to Macureguarai (the first city of Inga) are the Iwarawakeri. All these are professed enemies to the Spaniards, and to the rich Epuremei also. To the west of Caroli are divers nations of cannibals, and of those Ewaipanoma without heads. Directly west are the Amapaia and Anebas, which are also marvellous

rich in gold. The rest towards Peru we will omit. On the north of the Orinoco, between it and the West Indies, are the Wikiri, Saymi, and the rest before spoken of, all mortal enemies to the Spaniards. On the south side of the main mouth of the Orinoco are the Arwacas; and beyond them the cannibals; and to the south of them the Amazons.

To make mention of the several beasts, birds, fishes, fruits, flowers, gums, sweet woods, and of their several religions and customs, would for the first require as many volumes as those of Gesnerus, and for the rest another bundle of Decades. The religion of the Epuremei is the same which the Ingas, Emperors of Peru used, which may be read in Cieca, and other Spanish stories, how they believe the immortality of the soul, worship the sun, and bury with them alive their best beloved wives and treasure, as they likewise do in Pegu in the East Indies, and other places. The Orinocoponi bury not their wives with them, but their jewels, hoping to enjoy them again. The Arwacas dry the bones of their lords, and their wives and friends drink them in powder. In the graves of the Peruvians the Spaniards found their greatest

abundance of treasure. The like also is to be found among these people in every province. They have all many wives, and the lords five-fold to the common sort. Their wives never eat with their husbands, nor among the men, but serve their husbands at meals, and afterwards feed by themselves. Those that are past their younger years, make all their bread and drink and work their cotton beds, and do all else of service and labour, for the men do nothing but hunt, fish, play, and drink, when they are out of the wars.

I will enter no further into discourse of their manners, laws, and customs ; and because I have not myself seen the cities of Inga, I cannot avow on my credit what I have heard, although it be very likely that the Emperor Inga hath built and erected as magnificent palaces in Guiana as his ancestors did in Peru, which were for their riches and rareness most marvellous and exceeding all in Europe, and I think of the world, China excepted, which also the Spaniards (which I had) assured me to be of truth, as also the nations of the borderers, who being but Saluaiois, to those of the inland do cause much treasure to be buried with them, for I was informed of one of the Caziqui of the valley

of Amariocapana which had buried with him, a little before our arrival, a chair of gold most curiously wrought, which was made either in Macureguarai adjoining, or in Manoa. But if we should have grieved them in their religion at the first, before they had been taught better, and have digged up their graves, we had lost them all; and therefore I held my first resolution, that her Majesty should either accept or refuse the enterprise ere anything should be done that might in any sort hinder the same. And if Peru had so many heaps of gold, whereof those Ingas were princes, and that they delighteth so much therein, no doubt but this which now liveth and reigneth in Manoa hath the same humour, and I am assured hath more abundance of gold within his territory than all Peru and the West Indies.

For the rest, which myself have seen, I will promise these things that follow and know to be true. Those that are desirous to discover and to see many nations, may be satisfied within this river, which bringeth forth so many arms and branches leading to several countries and provinces, above 2,000 miles east and west, and 800 miles south

and north ; and of these, the most either rich in gold or in other merchandises. The common soldier shall here fight for gold, and pay himself instead of pence with plates of half a foot broad, whereas he breaketh his bones in other wars for provant and penury. Those commanders and chieftains, that shoot at honour and abundance, shall find there more rich and beautiful cities, more temples adorned with golden images, more sepulchres filled with treasure, than either Cortez found in Mexico, or Pizzaro in Peru ; and the shining glory of this conquest will eclipse all those so far extended beams of the Spanish nation. There is no country which yieldeth more pleasure to the inhabitants, either for these common delights of hunting, hawking, fishing, fowling, and the rest, than Guiana doth. It hath so many plains, clear rivers, abundance of pheasants, partridges, quails, rails, cranes, herons, and all other fowl : deer of all sorts, porks, hares, lions, tigers, leopards, and divers other sorts of beasts, either for chase or food. It hath a kind of beast called Cama, or Anta, as big as an English beef, and in great plenty.

To speak of the several sorts of every kind I fear

would be troublesome to the reader, and therefore I will omit them, and conclude that both for health, good air, pleasure and riches, I am resolved it cannot be equalled by any region either in the east or west. Moreover the country is so healthful, as 100 persons and more, which lay (without shift most sluttishly, and were every day almost melted with heat in rowing and marching, and suddenly wet again with great showers, and did eat of all sorts of corrupt fruits, and made meals of fresh fish without seasoning, of tortugas, of lagartos, and of all sorts good and bad, without either order or measure, and besides lodged in the open air every night) we lost not any one, nor had one ill disposed to my knowledge, nor found any calentura, or other of those pestilent diseases which dwell in all hot regions, and so near the equinoctial line.

Where there is store of gold, it is in effect needless to remember other commodities for trade : but it hath, towards the south part of the river, great quantities of Brazil wood, and of divers berries, that dye a most perfect crimson and carnation. And for painting, all France, Italy, or the east Indies yield none such ; for the more the

skin is washed the fairer the colour appeareth, and with which, even those brown and tawny women spot themselves and colour their cheeks. All places yield abundance of cotton, of silk, of balsamum, and of those kinds most excellent, and never known in Europe; of all sorts of gums, of Indian pepper: and what else the countries may afford within the land we know not, neither had we time to abide the trial and search. The soil besides is so excellent, and so full of rivers, as it will carry sugar, ginger, and all those other commodities which the West Indies hath.

The navigation is short, for it may be sailed with an ordinary wind in six weeks, and in the like time back again, and by the way neither lee shore, enemy's coast, rocks, nor sands, all which in the voyages to the West Indies, and all other places, we are subject unto: as the channel of Bahama, coming from the West Indies, cannot be passed in the winter, and when it is at the best, it is a perilous and a fearful place; the rest of the Indies for calms, and diseases very troublesome; and the Bermudas a hellish sea for thunder, lightning, and storms.

This very year there were seventeen sail of Spanish ships lost in the channel of Bahama, and the great *Philip* like to have sunk at the Bermudas, was put back to Saint Juan de Puerto Rico. And so it falleth out in that navigation every year for the most part, which in this voyage are not to be feared ; for the time of the year to leave England is best in July, and the summer in Guiana is in October, November, December, January, February, and March, and then the ships may depart thence in April, and so return again into England in June, so as they shall never be subject to winter weather, either coming, going, or staying there, which, for my part, I take to be one of the greatest comforts and encouragements that can be thought on, having (as I have done) tasted in this voyage by the West Indies so many calms, so much heat, such outrageous gusts, foul weather, and contrary winds.

To conclude, Guiana is a country that hath yet her maidenhead, never sacked, turned, nor wrought, the face of the earth hath not been torn, nor the virtue and salt of the soil spent by manuring, the graves have not been opened for gold, the mines not broken with sledges, nor their images pulled

down out of their temples. It hath never been entered by any army of strength, and never conquered or possessed by any Christian prince. It is besides so defensible, that if two forts be built in one of the provinces which I have seen, the flood setteth in so near the bank, where the channel also lieth, that no ship can pass up but within a pike's length of the artillery, first of the one, and afterwards of the other; which two forts will be a sufficient guard both to the Empire of Inga, and to a hundred other several kingdoms lying within the said river, even to the city of Quito in Peru.

There is therefore great difference between the easiness of the conquest of Guiana, and the defence of it being conquered, and the West or East Indies: Guiana hath but one entrance by the sea (if it have that) for any vessels of burden, so as whosoever shall first possess it it shall be found inaccessible for any enemy, except he come in wherries, barges, or canoes, or else in flat-bottomed boats; and if he do offer to enter it in that manner, the woods are so thick 200 miles together upon the rivers of such entrance, as a mouse cannot sit in a boat unhit from the bank. By land it is more

impossible to approach, for it hath the strongest situation of any region under the sun, and is so environed with impassable mountains on every side, as it is impossible to victual any company in the passage, which hath been well proved by the Spanish nation, who since the conquest of Peru have never left five years free from attempting this Empire, or discovering some way into it, and yet of twenty-three several gentlemen, knights, and noblemen, there was never any that knew which way to lead an army by land, or to conduct ships by sea, anything near the said country. Oreliano, of which the river of Amazons taketh name, was the first, and Don Antonio de Berreo (whom we displanted) the last; and I doubt much whether he himself or any of his yet know the best way into the said Empire. It can therefore hardly be regained, if any strength be formerly set down, but in one or two places, and but two or three crumsters or galleys built, and furnished upon the river within: the West Indies hath many ports, watering places, and landings, and nearer than 300 miles to Guiana no man can harbour a ship except he know one only place, which is not learned in haste, and which I will undertake there

is not any one of my companions that knoweth, whosoever hearkened most after it.

Besides by keeping one good fort, or building one town of strength, the whole empire is guarded, and whatsoever companies shall be afterwards planted within the land, although in twenty several provinces, those shall be able all to reunite themselves upon any occasion either by the way of one river, or be able to march by land without either wood, bog, or mountain; whereas in the West Indies there are few towns or provinces that can succour or relieve one the other, either by land or sea. By land the countries are either desert, mountainous, or strong enemies. By sea, if any man invade to the eastward, those to the west cannot in many months turn against the breeze and east wind; besides, the Spaniards are therein so dispersed, as they are nowhere strong, but in Nueva Hispania only; the sharp mountains, the thorns and poisoned prickles, the sandy and deep ways in the valleys, the smothering heat and air, and want of water in other places, are their only and best defence, which (because those nations that invade them are not victualled or provided to stay, neither have any place to friend adjoining)

do serve them instead of good arms and great multitudes.

The West Indies were first offered her Majesty's grandfather by Columbus, a stranger in whom there might be doubt of deceit, and besides it was then thought incredible that there were such and so many lands and regions never written of before. This Empire is made known to her Majesty by her own vassal, and by him that oweth to her more duty than an ordinary subject, so that it shall ill sort with the many graces and benefits which I have received to abuse her highness, either with fables or imaginations. The country is already discovered, many nations won to her Majesty's love and obedience, and those Spaniards which have latest and longest laboured about the conquest, beaten out, discouraged, and disgraced, which among these nations were thought invincible. Her Majesty may in this enterprise employ all those soldiers and gentlemen that are younger brethren, and all captains and chieftains that want employment, and the charge will be only the first setting out in victualling and arming them; for after the first or second year I doubt not but to see in London a Contratation house of more receipt

for Guiana than there is now in Civil [Seville] for the West Indies.

And I am resolved that if there were but a small army a-foot in Guiana, marching towards Manoa the chief city of Inga, he would yield her Majesty by composition so many hundred thousand pounds yearly as should both defend all enemies abroad and defray all expenses at home, and that he would besides pay a garrison of 3,000 or 4,000 soldiers very royally to defend him against other nations; for he cannot but know how his predecessors, yea, how his own great-uncles Quascar and Atibalipa, sons to Guanacapa, Emperor of Peru, were (while they contended for the Empire) beaten out by the Spaniards, and that both of late years, and ever since the said conquest, the Spaniards have sought the passages and entry of his country; and of their cruelties used to the borderers he cannot be ignorant. In which respects no doubt but he will be brought to tribute with great gladness; if not, he hath neither shot nor iron weapon in all his empire, and therefore may easily be conquered.

And I farther remember that Berreo confessed to me and others (which I protest before the

Majesty of God to be true) that there was found among prophecies in Peru (at such time as the empire was reduced to the Spanish obedience), in their chiefest temples, amongst divers others which foreshowed the loss of the said empire, that from Inglatierra those Ingas should be again in time to come restored, and delivered from the servitude of the said conquerors. And I hope, as we with these few hands have displanted the first garrison, and driven them out of the said country, so her Majesty will give order for the rest, and either defend it, and hold it as tributary, or conquer and keep it as empress of the same. For whatsoever prince shall possess it shall be greatest, and if the king of Spain enjoy it, he will become irresistible. Her Majesty hereby shall confirm and strengthen the opinions of all nations, as touching her great and princely actions. And where the south border of Guiana reacheth to the dominion and empire of the Amazons, those women shall hereby hear the name of a virgin which is not only able to defend her own territories and her neighbours', but also to invade and conquer so great empires and so far removed.

To speak more at this time I fear would be but

troublesome; I trust in God, this being true, will suffice, and that he which is King of all kings and Lord of lords will put it into her heart which is Lady of ladies to possess it; if not, I will judge those men worthy to be kings thereof that by her grace and leave will undertake it of themselves.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S JOURNAL OF HIS SECOND VOYAGE TO GUIANA.

THE 19th of August, 1617, at 6 o'clock in the morning, having the wind at N.E. we set sail in the river of Cork, where we had attended a fair wind 7 weeks.

From 6 in the morning till 10 at night we ran 14 leagues S. by W. ; from 10 at night till 10 in the morning we had no wind, so as between 10 in the morning and 4 at afternoon we made not above 2 leagues.

At 4 the 20th day the wind began to freshen, and we steered away S.S.W., keeping a westerly course, fearing the westerly winds, and from 4 to 2 o'clock after midnight, being the morning of the 21st day, we ran 13 leagues.

From 2 in the morning of the 21st day, being Thursday, till 8 in the same morning, being 6 hours, we ran 6 leagues S. by W. Then the wind came to the W. and W. by S. ; very little wind till one o'clock ; the wind between the W and the S.,

and we ran not in that time above 2 leagues. At one the wind began to shift up at N.E. and presently to the N.W., and blew strong, so as by 4 we ran 6 leagues.

From 4 to 8 we ran 7 leagues, from 8 to 12 other 7 leagues, from 12 to 4, being Friday morning, 6 leagues, from 4 to 8 6 leagues, the course S.S.W.; from 8 to 12 other 6 leagues S.S.W.; and taking the height, we found ourselves in 48 degrees wanting 10 minutes. We then steered away S. by W., and so from 12 on Friday the 22nd day, to 8 in the morning, being Saturday, the 23rd day, we ran near 24 leagues S. by W., the wind being at N.N.E.

From 8 on Saturday morning to 8 on Sunday morning, being Bartelmeie day and the 24th, we ran 35 leagues S. by W.

Then it grew calm, and we ran not above 10 leagues from Sunday the 24th to Monday the 25th.

At 8 in the morning the wind failed and blew but a little gale at S.E. Monday night it blew strong at S., and it fell back from the S. to the S.S.W., and overblew so as we could lie but W. northerly, and so continued all Tuesday, the 26th day, the wind falling back at one o'clock of the

same day to the S.W. ; we cast about and lay S.E. the other way that night [for] a try.

Wednesday morning, the 27th, we set sail and lay S.S.E., and then S. by E. ; the wind at W.S.W. then changed to the W.N.W. and N.W., so as from 5 the Wednesday morning to 12 o'clock of the same day we ran some 7 leagues, and brought the north part of Cape Finisterre east.

From 12 we steered away S. and S. by E. to recover again our falling from our course towards the W., till 12 the next day, being the 28th, when as we found ourselves in 42 degrees, wanting 10 minutes.

From 12 the 28th to 12 the 29th, having the wind at N., we ran 35 leagues, and were in 40 degrees wanting 30 minutes.

From 12 the 29th to 12 the 30th day, we ran on 30 leagues S., and brought Lisbon E. northerly.

At 12 the same 30th day we discovered 4 sails, and gave them chase and ran W.S.W. till 7 at night, then leaving the chase we stood S.S.E. till 12 at night, and then S., so as by 8 o'clock Sunday morning we had gone 18 leagues, and were 20 leagues short of the Cape Saint Vincent. These 4 ships were French, and came from Cape Blanck

laden with fish and train oil, and were bound as they pretended for Seville in Spain ; but because they should not give knowledge that I was then passed by, joined them with me 100 leagues to the southward, and then buying of them a pinnace of 7 ton and 3 pipes of train oil, for which I gave them in ready money 61 crowns, I dismissed them. It is true that I had arguments enough to persuade me that they had not fished but robbed the Portuguese and Spaniards at Cape Blanck, for they were not only provided and furnished like men of war, but had in them store of Spanish apparel and other things taken there. But because it is lawful for the French to make prize of the Spanish king's subjects to the south of the Canaries and to the west of the Azores, and that it did not belong to me to examine the subjects of the French king, I did not suffer my company to take from them any pennyworth of their goods, greatly to the discontent of my company, who cried out that they were men of war and thieves ; and so indeed they were, for I met with a Spaniard afterwards of the grand Canaries whom they had robbed.

From 8 Sunday morning to 12 Monday, being the 1st of September, we ran 40 leagues, and were

in 35 degrees lacking 8 minutes, and made our way S. by E.

From 12 on Monday to 12 on Tuesday, the 2nd day, we ran 30 leagues, having lain by the lee 4 hours, and were in 33 degrees and a half.

From 12 on Tuesday to 12 on Wednesday, the 3rd day, we ran 30 leagues.

From 12 on Wednesday to 12 on Thursday, the 4th of September, we ran but 14 leagues S. by E. Friday the 5th and Saturday the 6th day, we ran with a good gale and made Lancerota on Saturday before noon, but on Saturday night we stood off till midnight and then stood in, and on Sunday, the 7th day, came to anchor near the shore of Lancerota, where we landed our men to stretch their legs. The people fearing that we had been the same fleet of Turks which had spoiled Porta Sanota, put themselves in arms and came to the seaside with a flag of truce. The Governor being desirous to speak with me, to which I yielded, taking with me * Bradshew, with each of us a sword, and the Governor with one of his so armed, came into the plain to meet me, our troops staying at

* In this and several similar instances there are blanks in the MS.—Ed.

equal distance from us. After he had saluted me, his first desire was to know whether we were Christians or Turks, whereof being satisfied, he demanded what I sought for from that miserable and barren island peopled in effect all with Moriscoes. I answered him that although I landed many men to refresh them, I had no purpose to invade any of the Spanish king's territories, having received from the king my master express commandment to the contrary, only I desired for my money such fresh meat as that island yielded, and because he should not doubt of what nation we were, I willed him to be informed by the English merchant whose ship lay by us, and whom we found in his port at our arrival trading with him and others of the island, and had lately brought them wine from Teneriffe and stayed for his lading of corn, whereupon he prayed me to set down in writing what I desired, and it should be furnished the next day, promising to send me that night some few muttons and goats for myself and the captains. In the morning, being Monday, the 8th day, the English merchant's man came to me, by whom I sent him a note for a quantity of wheat, goats, sheep, hens, and wine, for which the merchant should make the

price, and to whom I would deliver so much ready money or other truck as it amounted unto, promising him that my companies should not go from the seaside above a mile or two; nor offend any of the inhabitants. I stayed the next day, but nothing came, which day we spent in training and mustering our companies on the sea shore; the next he wrote me a letter in Spanish, wherein he protested, on the faith of a Cabaliro, that he would send the provisions the 3rd day, being the 11th of September, and sent me the English merchant which lay above at his town with 2 French factors to assure me, whom he abused by protesting as much to them. For my own part I never gave faith to his words, for I knew he sought to gain time to carry the goods of the town, being 7 miles from us, into the mountains. M^r company pressed me that they might march towards the town, but besides that I knew that it would offend his Majesty, I am sure that the poor English merchant would have been ruined whose goods he had in his hands, and the way being mountainous and most extremely stony, I knew that I must have lost 20 good men in taking a town not worth two groats, for they were 300 men, whereof 90 musketeers, upon a ground of

infinite advantage. When the 3rd day was passed I sent the merchant's man with a letter charging him with his promise and faith given, and that did I not know that it would offend the king my sovereign, I would pull his Moriscos out of their town by the ears, and by the merchant's man I sent some 20s. to buy some hens and other trifles, by whom he returned answer that we were the same Turks which had taken and destroyed Porta Sancta, and therefore he was resolved to stand upon his guard, and were we English, yet if he gave us any relief he was sure to be hanged; taking the money from the merchant's man, and beat him for offering to buy anything for us without his leave. I sent back the merchant's man and wrote unto him that because he was a poor fellow and needed apparel, if he would send back the merchant, I would send him 40 rial more to buy him a doublet to his hose, and for the rest it was enough for me to know his master's disposition, who notwithstanding the peace with our king, yet he had given order that no relief should be given to any of his subjects, and that evening departed and came the next day at night to the Grand Canaries, and from the south part sent

a Spaniard who was a fisherman of that island, with a letter to the governor, to whom the other islands were subject, as to the supreme audience, with the copy of the governor of Lancerota his letter to me and mine to him, and how I had no intent to invade any of those islands nor to offend any of the Spanish king's subjects, but only sought for water, and for fresh meat for my money, praying the governor to take knowledge that I had it in commandment from the king my master not to offer any violence, nor to take any places belonging to the Spanish king, only I desired from him to know if any such commandment were given to the governor of Lancerota not to trade with us, but to offend us in all he could, or whether himself, being the king's lieutenant of all the islands, had any such order. In the meanwhile landing to get a little water, which I did with great difficulty, the quantity being not half a tun, I thought it perilous to stay in those extreme hot calms, my company in all the ships falling extremely sick, whereof many died for want of water. I did therefore determine to stay but one day more for the governor's answer, where, being on the land with a few men, I set 2 or 3 sentinels,

doubting the people might come down on the sudden. The islanders finding a sentinel of 2 of our company somewhat far off from the rest, they crept near them, by the favour of the trees and on the Sunday ran upon them. Our musketeer shooting off gave us the alarm; our pick being charged with 3 of them, received 3 wounds, being one Smith, a master's mate of Sir J. Ferne's ship, but behaved himself so well as he slew one of them and recovered his pike. Capt. Thornehurst being a valiant and active man hastened to their rescue, and with a horseman's piece shot another of them. Mr. Hawton with his pick wounded the third, so as all three died in the place, the rest taking their heels. We were now out of their debt, for at Lancerota, by the vanity and madness of a sergeant who standing sentinel would needs force the governor's sentinel from his ground, they being 20 and ours but 3, whereof we lost two.

From the calms of the great Canaries (where at this time of the year the springs being dried up there was no water to be had) we set sail the 3rd of September and stood for Gomera, where some of our company assured us there was water enough; but we fell to leeward of it that night. The next

day being Thursday the 4th, we turned it up and recovered the port, being the best of all the Canaries, the town and castle standing on the very breach of the sea; but the billows do so tumble and overfall as it is impossible to land upon any part of the strand but by swimming, saving in a cove under steep rocks, where they can pass towards the town but one after another, and could they pass 10 men in front, yet from the steep mountain of rock over the way they were all sure to be beaten in pieces with massy stones. Before we were at anchor they shot at us from those rocks, and we, to let them know that we had good ordnance, gave them some 20 demi-culverin through their houses and then forbear. I then sent a Spaniard on shore to the Count Lord and Governor of the island, and wrote unto him that I came not thither as the Hollanders did, to sack their town and burn their churches as the Hollanders did in the year , but being in necessity of water, for it only, and therefore as he had begun the war in shooting first, so it should be his fault to continue it by denying us to relieve ourselves whereunto we were mainly constrained. To this he made answer in writing and in fair terms that he was advertised from the other islands

that we were the same Turks which had taken Porto Santa, otherwise he would be ready to do me service. I answered that he received that advertisement from the Morisco of Fortaventura, but to put him altogether out of doubt I would send him 6 other Spaniards of the Gran Canaries, taken on Africa side in a small barque, who should resolve him that we were Christians, and the vassals of the King of Great Britain in perfect league and amity with the King of Spain. This being done, we made an agreement that his soldiers and others to the number of 300 should quit their trenches upon the landing-places where they were so well assured by divers redoubts one above another, as the Hollanders were forced to land their army six miles from this port when they took it as aforesaid, and where in passing the mountains they lost 80 soldiers; and I, for my part, should promise on the faith of a Christian not to land above 30 mariners without weapons to fill water; we were within a pistol-shot of the wash of the sea, myself further promising that none of those should enter their houses nor their gardens. Upon this agreement I sent my boat ashore with my baricos, adventuring but two poor sailors ashore and 4 to keep the boat, which had

in her head 2 good murderers, and for the more safety, and brought six ships with their broad-sides towards the town, which I would have beaten down in 10 hours if they had broken the agreement.

By the Spaniard which carried my letter to the Count, I sent his lady 6 exceeding fine handkerchiefs and 6 pair of gloves, and wrote unto her that if there were anything worthy of her in my fleet she should command it and me. She sent me answer that she was sorry that her barren island had nothing worthy of me, and with her letter sent me 4 very great loaves of sugar, a basket of lemons, which I much desired to comfort and refresh our many sick men, a basket of oranges, a basket of most delicate grapes, another of pomegranates and of figs, which trifles were better welcome unto me than a 1,000 crowns could have been. I gave her servants 2 crowns to each, and answering her letter in the fairest terms I could, because I would not rest in her debt, I sent her 2 ounces of amber grease, an ounce of the delicate extract of amber, a great glass of rose-water in high estimation here, and a very excellent picture of Mary Magdalen, and a cutwork ruff. These presents were received

with so great thanks, and so much acknowledgment of debt as could be expressed, and upon Saturday there was sent me a basket of delicate white manchet, and 2 dozen of fat hens with divers fruits. In the meanwhile, Friday, Saturday, and part of Sunday we filled 240 pipes of water, and the Sunday evening we departed without any offence given or received to the value of a farthing, for testimony whereof the Earl sent his friar aboard my ship with a letter to D. Diego Sarmiento, ambassador in England, witnessing how noble we had behaved ourselves, and how justly we had dealt with the inhabitants of the island.

Being ready to set sail, we delivered the Spanish fisherman his barque, and discharged another small barque taken here at our first arrival with all their furniture, and directed our course from Gomera on the same Sunday fortnight (being the 21st of September) which we arrived at Lancerota, having spent 14 days among these islands.

From Sunday at 4 at afternoon to Monday at 4, being the 22nd day, we ran 20 leagues, for we carried a slack sail for some of our fleet which were not ready to weigh with us.

From 4 on Monday to 12 at noon on Tuesday,

being the 23rd, we ran 25 leagues S.W by S., with the breezes at N.E.

From 12 on Tuesday to 12 on Wednesday, being the 24th of September, we made 6 leagues a watch, drawing at our stern a long boat of 14 ton fastened with 2 great cables, which hung deep in the way and greatly hindered our sailing, holding the same S.W. by S. course, the wind constant. We had at this time 50 men sick in our ship.

From 12 on Wednesday to 12 on Thursday, the 25th day, the breezes continuing, but not so strong, we ran about 33 leagues S.W. by W., and found ourselves in 23 degrees and 17 minutes.

From Thursday 12 to Friday 12, being the 26th day, we brought ourselves into 22 degrees northerly, the wind continuing, and the course S.S.W., for whereas we resolved to fall with the weathermost island of Cape de Verde, called St. Antoine, being informed that the same was desolate and could yield us no refreshing. and that we had 60 men sick aboard us, we determined to touch at Bravo, where I was told that there were people and fresh meat.

From 12 the 26th to 12 the 27th we ran 38 leagues, and were in 19 degrees 20 minutes, the course S. by W.

From 12 the 27th to 12 the 28th, being Sunday, we had a few hours calm, and ran but 27 leagues, and were at 12 o'clock in 18 degrees.

Monday at noon we found ourselves in 16 degrees and 20 minutes, and Monday night by the star we found ourselves in 15 degrees and half, and then we lay at hull from 8 at night to 6 in the morning, when we saw the island of Stiago fair by us. Monday being Michaelmas day, there died our Master Surgeon, Mr. Nubal, to our great loss; the same day also died Barber, one of our quarter-masters, and our sail-maker, and we had 60 men sick, and all mine own servants amongst them, that I had none of mine own but my pages to serve me.

Tuesday night we stood off because we meant to water at Bravo four leagues to the westward of Fridgo Fuego, being 12 leagues to the west of Stiago. Holcroff, the sergeant of my son's company, died.

That night the pinnace that was Captain Barkers', having all her men asleep, and not any one at the watch, droye under our bowsprit and sunk; but the men were saved, though better worthy to have been hanged than saved.

Wednesday we stood back with Bravo, but found very inconvenient anchoring and rough ground,

and that night having the Vice-admiral with me at supper, myself being newly come from the shore to feel out a better road, a hurricane fell upon us with most violent rain, and broke both our cables at the instant, greatly to the damage of the ship and all our lives, but it pleased God that her head cast from the shore and drove off. I was myself so wet as the water ran in at my neck, and out at my knees, as if it had been poured on me with pails. All the rest of our fleet lost their cables and anchors; 3 of our small men that rode in a cove, close under the land, had like all to have perished; Captain Snedul grated on the rocks; Wulleston and King escaped them not their ship's length.

Thursday we stood up upon a tack to recover the island, for I had sent off my skiff to fish not half a quarter of an hour before the hurricane, and I gave her lost and six of my men in her to my great discomfort, having had so great mortality; but I thank my God I found them in the morning under the shore and recovered them, but I lost another of my pinnaces called *The Fifty Crowns*—because I paid fifty crowns to the French men for her—in this storm.

Friday one of my trumpeters and one other of the cookrom died.

Finding that the rains and storms were not yet past in this place, and finding no fair ground to ride in, I resolved rather to leave the island and the refreshing we hoped for here, than to endanger our ships, the most of them having lost a cable and anchor, and myself two. This island of Bravo standeth in , a little island but fruitful, having store of goats, cattle, maize, figs, and water; it hath on the north side little islands and broken grounds, which doth, as it were, impale it; on the west side it hath an excellent watering-place in a cove, in which there may ride a dozen ships if they come either before or after the rains and storms, which begin in the middle of July and end in the middle of August, and in this cove and all along the west side abundance of fish. There is a current which sets very strong from the south to the north, and runs in effect always so. This night Captain Pigott's lieutenant, called Allen, died.

Thursday night I stood off a league, and then lay by the Lee the most part of the night to stay for some of our ships that were in the cove to take

water, so as by 12 on Friday we were about 10 leagues off the island. On Friday morning, being the 3rd of October, our Captain Marchant Kemishe died. Friday at noon we lay again by Lee to stay for King, who was in my fly-boat, and lay so till Saturday, having sent back Captain Barker in the carvell to seek him, but hearing of neither we filled our sails at 12, and stood away athwart the ocean, steering away towards the coast of Guiana S.W. by W.

From Saturday 12 to Sunday 12 we made 30 leagues.

From Sunday 12 to Monday 12 we made 28 leagues. This Monday morning died Mr. John Haward, ensign to Captain North, and Lieutenant Payton and Mr. Hues fell sick. There also died, to our great grief, our principal refiner, Mr. Fowler.

From Monday at 12, to Tuesday the 7th of October, we made but 4 leagues a watch, and in all 24 leagues, by the high not so much, for Tuesday at noon we found ourselves but in 12 degrees and 30 minutes, and then the current set us half a point to the westward of the S.W. by W.

From 12 on Tuesday to 12 on Wednesday, the

8th of October, we had little wind and made but 22 leagues, and we found ourselves in 11 degrees and 39 minutes. This evening my servant

Crabb died, so as I had not any one left to attend me but my pages.

From 12 on Wednesday to 12 on Thursday we had a fresher gale, and made 30 leagues; but all this day we bare little sail, the weather being rainy with gusts and much wind, as it is commonly in these parts at the small of the moon.

From 12 on Thursday to 12 on Friday, we had nothing but rain and not much wind, so as we made but 4 leagues a watch, to wit 24 leagues, and the nearest that we could observe the sun shining but little and by starts was 10 degrees and 8 minutes; but in the afternoon it cleared up, which we hoped that God would have continued, for we were all drowned in our cabins; but about 4 o'clock there rose a most fearful blackness over the one half of the sky, and it drove against the wind, which threatened a tornado, and yet it pleased God that it brake but into rain, and the evening again hopeful, but there blew no wind at all, so as we lay becalmed all the night, and the next day, at 12 on Saturday, we observed and found ourselves in

10 degrees and 10 minutes, and had not made from noon to noon above 5 leagues.

From Saturday, the 11th day, at 12, to Sunday at 12, we had all calms as before, and the little breath which we sometimes had was for the most part south and to the westward, which hath seldom been seen in this passage and climate, so as we made not above six leagues W. by S. ; in the afternoon the wind took us a-stays, and blew a little gale from the N.N.W.

This Sunday morning died Mr. Hues, a very honest and civil gentleman, having laid sick but six days. In this sort it pleased God to visit us with great sickness and loss of our ablest men, both land men and seamen ; and having by reason of the tornado at Bravo failed of our watering, we were at this time in miserable estate, not having in our ship above seven days water, 60 sick men, and nearly 400 leagues of the shore, and becalmed.

We found ourselves this day at noon in 10 degrees, and so we had raised since Saturday noon but ten minutes. From Sunday noon to Monday noon we made not above 12 leagues ; observe we could not for the dark weather. A lamentable twenty-four hours it was, in which we lost

Captain John Pigott, my Lieutenant G. by land, my honest friend Mr. John Talbot, one that had lived with me eleven years in the Tower, an excellent general scholar and a faithful true man as lived. We lost also Mr. Gardner and Mr. Mordent, two very fair conditioned gentlemen, and mine own cook Francis.

From Monday at 12 to Tuesday at 12, having in the night a fresh gale with much rain, we ran some 26 leagues. I observed this day, and so I did before, that the morning rainbow doth not give a fair day as in England; but there followed much rain and wind, and that we found the winds here for 6 or 7 days together to the southward of the E. as at S.E. and S.S.E., and always rain and gusts more or less.

Wednesday morning we saw another rainbow, and about 10 o'clock it began to gather as black as pitch in the south, and from thence there fell as much rain as I have seen, but with little wind.

From Tuesday 12 to Wednesday 12, we ran not above 14 leagues; observe we could not, neither Monday, Tuesday, nor Wednesday, for the darkness of the sky, which is very strange in these

parts, for most of the afternoon we steered our ship by candle-light.

From Wednesday 12 to Thursday 12 we had all calms, saving some few hours in the night, and from 7 in the morning till 10, and the wind we had was so weak as we made not above 6 leagues; about 10 in the morning it began to rain, and it continued strong till 2 at after dinner, the effect of the morning rainbow. About 3 the wind, the little that it was, blew at W.S.W., which hath not often been seen. Captain Jennings died and many fell sick.

From Thursday 12 to Friday 12 we could make no reckoning, for the wind changed so often between the S. and the W., as after the changing of the tack divers times, we found it best to take in all our sails and lay at hull, for the wind that blew was horrible with violent rain, and at S.W. and S.S.W., and so it continued all night, and so it doth continue this Saturday morning, and think that since the Indies were discovered never was the like wind found in this high, which we guess to be about nine degrees, for we could not observe since Monday last.

Saturday morning it cleared up, and at noon we

found ourselves in 9 degrees and 45 minutes, as we supposed, but the wind directly contrary as well in the storms as in the sun shining, and lying at hull we drove to the north-west, and fell altogether to leeward ; we set sail after dinner and stood by a wind to the eastward, but could lie but S.E. and by E.

The night proved altogether calm, so as we moved no way, but we hoped that upon the change of the moon, which changed Sunday about eleven o'clock, that God would send us the long-looked-for breeze. This night died my cousin Payton, lieutenant of my son's company.

Sunday proved also stark calm and extreme hot, so as between Saturday noon and Sunday noon we could not reckon that we had gone a league, but that we had driven somewhat to the northward, for we found ourselves on Saturday in 9 degrees and 45 minutes, and Sunday at noon in 9 degrees and 50 minutes. The evening proved exceeding fair and clear round about the horizon, and the sun set so fair, it being also the day of the change, as we all hoped, for exceeding fair weather ; but the rules and signs of weather do not hold in this climate, for at midnight the sky was overcast and

it began to gust again, but the wind good; the Monday morning was also exceeding dark, and it blew and did rain violently. Towards 12 it cleared up with a fresh gale at E. and by S., so as I make account that we ran from 12 on Sunday to 12 on Monday some 16 degrees. Monday, between 6 and 7 at night, we had a strong gust with so much wind and rain as we were forced to lie at hull till midnight, and then we set sail. In the morning we had much rain and wind, and that fearful and resistless fall of a cloud called a spout, and it fell, blessed be God, some 2 miles from us to windward.

From Monday 12 to Tuesday 12 we had hardly advanced 13 leagues, for we found ourselves at 12 but in 9 degrees; Tuesday night proved fair, and the wind till midnight at E.N.E.; after midnight it fell slack, and so continued till 12 on Wednesday.

Wednesday we observed and found ourselves but in 8 degrees and 12 minutes, and had not made above 22 leagues, for the current that sets here strongly to the N.W. took us in the weather bow and dulled our way, always thrusting us to leeward.

This Wednesday morning we saw a third rainbow; of the two former we had the effect of foul

weather ; it also lighted the most part of these two nights, which they say foreshows rain, and so we have found it hitherto. Wednesday's rainbow gave us but one gust at night, all the rest of the night being fair ; about 8 o'clock we saw Magellan's Cloud, round and white, which riseth and setteth with the stars.

Thursday morning was fair, and we observed and found ourselves in 7 degrees and 40 minutes. From Wednesday noon to Thursday noon we made upon a course S.W. and by S. 18 leagues. We had on Thursday evening a rainbow, and there follows a foul night, and a dark Friday till noon with a wind at S.S.E., so hure as we could not lie our course, and so long we have had those winds southerly against the very order of nature in this navigation as we have cause to fear that we shall not be able to fetch our port, but be put to seaward.

From Thursday 12 to Friday 12 we made but 12 leagues, and found ourselves in 7 degrees and 20 minutes ; our water being also near spent, we were forced to come to half allowance. Friday, about 3 at afternoon, the wind came altogether southerly and rather to the westward, so as we could lie but

west southerly and make but a W.N.W. way, and in the evening we saw a wind gale in the east. The wind increasing towards night, and the sky fearfully overcast, we lay at hull, and so continued all night with violent rains and much wind.

Saturday morning it cleared up in the S., and we lay E.S.E. the other way to keep ourselves up, but being able to lie but E.S.E. and E. by S.; the sea also heaving us to the northward we made but a leeward way. At 3 in the afternoon in a gust the wind came N., and then hoped to recover our height, but it calmed again in the rains, and so it continued in effect all night, and the morning that little wind which we had was but at S. easterly, so as between Saturday 12 and Sunday 12 we made not above 9 leagues, and raised not 10 minutes towards the south.

From Sunday 12 o'clock to Monday 12 we had the wind no better than S. and by E. and S.S.E., and made but 10 leagues at most.

From Monday to Tuesday 12 o'clock we had little wind with fair weather, only at five in the morning we had a little gale, first at E.N.E., and then at E. and by S., and we made not above 8 leagues, and found ourselves in 7 degrees steering

away south to recover our height. Here we found the compass to vary 7 degrees.

From Tuesday to Wednesday 12 we had the wind large, but so gentle a wind as we made not above 10 leagues, and found ourselves by an obscure observation in 6 degrees; two rainbows we had in the morning, but fair weather had hitherto followed, and so we hoped that the rains had been past; but the circle about the moon the Tuesday night and the double rainbow on Wednesday morning paid us towards the evening with rain and wind, in which gust we made shift to save some three hogsheads of water, besides that, the company having been many days scanted and pressed with drought drank up whole quarter cans of the bitter rain water. The Wednesday night was also calm, with thunder and lightning.

Thursday morning we had again a double rainbow, which put us in fear that the rains would never end; from Wednesday 12 to Thursday 12 we made not above 6 leagues, having always uncomfortable rains and dead calms.

The last of October at night, rising out of bed, being in a great sweat by reason of a sudden gust and much clamour in the ship before they could

get down the sails, I took a violent cold which cast me into a burning fever, than which never man endured any more violent nor never man suffered a more furious heat and an unquenchable drought. For the first twenty days I never received any sustenance, but now and then a stewed prune, but drank every hour day and night, and sweat so strongly as I changed my shirts thrice every day and thrice every night.

The 11th of November we made the North Cape of Wiapoco, the cape then bearing S.W. and by W. as they told me, for I was not yet able to move out of my bed; we rode in 6 fathom 5 leagues of the shore. I sent in my skiff to inquire for my old servant Leonard the Indian, who had been with me in England 3 or 4 years, the same man that took Mr. Harcourt's brother and 50 of his men when they came upon that coast and were in extreme distress, having neither meat to carry them home nor means to live there but by the help of this Indian, whom they made believe that they were my men; but I could not hear of him by my boat that I sent in, for he was removed 30 miles into the country, and because I had an ill road and 5 leagues off, I durst not stay his sending for, but stood away for

Oaliana, where the Cazique was also my servant, and had lived with me in the Tower 2 years.

Yet the 12th day we weighed and stood somewhat nearer the land some 3 leagues off; my boat going and returning brought us some of the country fruits, and left in the port two Hollanders for Onotto, guma, and speckled wood.

The 13th I set sail along the coast and anchored that night in eleven fathom near an island, where there were so many birds as they killed them with staves; there grows upon it those trees which bear the great cods of hereculla silk. This island is but little, and is from the mainland some 4 leagues; the same afternoon we weighed and stood along the coast towards Oaliana W.S.W. and S.W. and by west, and anchored again in the evening some 5 leagues S.W. from the island of birds, in five fathom within a kind of bay.

The 14th day we stood out of the bay, and passed by 3 or 4 islands, where there grew many trees of those that bare the cods of silk also; by the islands we had 10 fathom, from whence we stood along into 6 fathom, and came to an anchor, thence I sent my barge ashore to inquire for my servant Harry the Indian, who sent his brother

unto me with two other Caziques, promising to come to me with provisions if I came not into the river within a day or two. These Indians stayed with me that night, offering their service and all they had. Mine own weakness, which still continued, and the desire I had to be carried ashore to change the air, and out of an unsavoury ship, pestered with many sick men, which, being unable to move, poisoned us with a most filthy stench, persuaded me to adventure my ship over a bar where never any vessel of burden had passed. In the road my barge found one Janson of Flushing, who had traded that place about a dozen years, who came to me where I rode without, offering me his service for the bringing in of my ship, and assuring me that on the top of a full sea there was 3 fathom, whereupon the rest of my fleet went into the river and anchored within in 4 and 5 fathom. It flows there N.E. and S.W.; here I stayed at anchor from the 14th day to the 17th day, when by the help of Janson I got over the bar in 3 fathom a quarter less, when I drew 17 foot water.

After I had stayed in Caliana a day or two, my servant Harry came to me, who had almost for-

gotten his English, and brought me great store of very good Casavi bread, with which I fed my company some 7 or 8 days, and put up a hogshead full for store; he brought great plenty of roasted mullets, which were very good meat, great store of plantains and piones, with divers other sorts of fruits and pistachios, but as yet I durst not adventure to eat of the pione, which tempted me exceedingly, but after a day or two, being carried ashore and sitting under a tent, I began to eat of the pione, which greatly refreshed me, and after that I fed on the pork of the country, and of the Armadillos, and began to gather a little strength.

Here I also set all my sick men ashore, and made clean my ship, and where they all recovered; and here we buried Captain Hastings, who died 10 days or more before, and with him my Sergeant-major Hart, and Captain Henry Snedul, giving the charge of Snedul's ship to my servant, Captain Robert Smith of Cornwall. We also in this river set up our barges, and made clean our ships, trimmed up our cask, and filled store of water, set up our smith's forge, and made such ironwork as the fleet needed. In this river we refreshed

ourselves from the 17th day of November till the 4th of December.

Captain Janson, whom we found a very honest man, departed from Caliana towards Flushing the , and Captain Peter Ally being still troubled with the vertigo, desirous therefore to return because unable to endure the rolling of the ship, I got passage for him with Janson and for , who could not yet recover his health in this hot country.

The 4th of December I weighed and fell down to the haven's mouth, not daring to lose the spring tide; the rest of my ships had yet somewhat to do about their boats which they newly set up, to wit, *The Flying Hart*, wherein was Sir John Ferne, and *The Chudley*; all promised to follow within a day or two, and I told them that I would stay them at the Triangle Islands called Epinessarie, only the Vice-admiral followed me, to wit, Captain Penington, in the *Jason*, and notwithstanding that I had sounded the bar twice or thrice before I durst put over, yet I came aground in 16 foot, it being a quarter ebb ere I could get over by reason of the little wind which I found a sea-board. We used all the help we had by warping and otherwise being

greatly assisted by the Vice-admiral's boats and warps, but we stuck two whole tides and two nights, and afterward had foul water in 3 fathom, but God favoured us with very fair weather, and the ground was all ooze, and very soft, for had it been hard ground, and any weather at all, we had left our bones there.

In this melancholy toil we spent the 5th and 6th day, and then came to anchor at the Triangle Islands before spoken of in 6 fathom, where I stayed for the rest of the fleet till the 10th day, who, neglecting the spring-tide, though they drew by far less water than I did, were like to have perished upon the flats where I struck.

The 10th day the rest of the fleet came to me, all but the *Chudley*, and then I embarked my men in five ships for the Orinoco, to wit, 400 soldiers and sailors. The ships I sent off were the *Encounter*, commanded by Captain Whitney; the *Supply*, of Captain King; the *Pink*, of Robert Smith, Captain Olestone, and Captain Hall.

Sir Warren Sentleger, to whom as to my lieutenant I gave the charge of those companies, fell extreme sick at Caliana, and in his place as sergeant-major, I appointed my nephew, George

Raleigh ; the land companies were commanded by Captain Parker, Captain North, my son W. Raleigh, Captain Thornehurst, Captain Hall, and Captain Chudles, lieutenant ; Captain Kemishe having the chief charge for their landing within the river.

The 10th day they parted from us with a month's victuals, or somewhat more ; I gave them orders to stay a day or two in Shurinamo, to get pilots, and to bring some of our great barges aground, who were weak and leaked, by towing them from Caliana. I also gave them order to send into Dessekebe, for I assured them that they could not want pilots there for the Orinoco, being the next great river adjoining unto it, and to which the Spaniards of the Orinoco had daily recourse.

The 15th of December we made the land near Puncto Anegada, at the mouth of the Orinoco, and that night we saw the northern part of Trinidad, and came to anchor in 30 fathom 6 leagues off the shore. From thence we coasted the island, near the south side in 15 fathom, and near the shore in 10 and 11 fathom, and coming close aboard the point of the road at the west end of the island which point they naturally call Curiapan, and the

Spaniards, Puncto de Gallo, we had 5 fathom. It floweth on this south coast E.N.E. and W.S.W. It is needful to sail near the point of Gallo, which you may do boldly because there lieth a dangerous ledge of rock so half a mile of the road to the westward, a most forcible current that sets off the point; a greater current can nowhere be found, the current of Bahama excepted.

The 17th we came to anchor at Puncto Gallo, where we stayed, taking water, fish, and some Armadillos, refreshing our men with palmetto, Guaiavas, piniorellas, and other fruit of the country, till the last of December. In sailing by the south coast of Trinidad I saw in one day, to wit, the 16th of December, 15 rainbows and 2 wind gales, and one of the rainbows brought both ends together at the stern of the ship, making a perfect circle, which I never saw before, nor any man in my ship had seen the like.

The last of December we weighed anchor and turned up north-east towards Conquerabo, otherwise called the port of Spain, being New Year's eve, and we came to anchor at Terra de Bri, short of the Spanish port some 10 leagues. This Terra de Bri is a piece of land of some 2 leagues long

and a league broad, all of stone pitch or bitumen, which riseth out of the ground in little springs or fountains, and so running a little way, it hardeneth in the air and covereth all the plain; there are also many springs of water, and in and among them fresh-water fish. Here rode at anchor, and trimmed our boats; we had here some fish, and many of the country pheasants somewhat bigger than ours, and many of the hens exceeding fat and delicate meat.

The 19th of January we sent up Sir J. Ferne's ship to the Spanish port, to try if they would trade for tobacco and other things; but when her boat was near the shore, while they on the land were in parley with Captain Giles, who had charge of the boat, the Spaniards gave them a volley of some 20 muskets at 40 paces distant, and yet hurt never a man. As our boat put off, they called our men thieves and traitors, with all manner of opprobrious speeches.

The of January we sent back the Vice-admiral, Captain Penington, to Puncto Gallo to attend the return of our companies in the Orinoco.

The 29th of January we lost one of Sir Joseph Ferne's men, who being ashore boiling of the country

pitch was shot by a Spaniard, who lay in the woods all night with five other Spaniards. Our ships taking the alarm we weighed out our boats; I took my barge with six shot, Captain Chudley took his skiff, and Sir W. Sentleger his; we pursued them with all haste possible, and forced them to forsake their canoes and run into the thick woods, leaving behind them their cloaks, and all other implements but their arms. There were of Sir J. Ferne's men three, and one boy; one of them was slain, one swam aboard, and a third hid himself in the woods till my barge came ashore; the boy we suppose was carried with them alive.

The last of January we returned from the pitch land to Puncto Gallo, hoping to meet our men which we sent into the Orinoco.

The first of February, the sentinel which we had laid to the eastward of Puncto Gallo to discover if any ships or boats came from the east along the coast, for we could not discover anything where we rowed till they were within a mile of us by that the point lay out so far; these of the sentinel discovered seven Indians and brought them unto us. They had a village some 16 miles from us to the eastward, and as it proved afterward, came but as spies to discover

our forces; they were two days aboard, and would be unknown that they could speak any word of Spanish, but by signs they made us know that they dwelt but one day's journey towards the east. I kept 3 of them aboard, and sent 12 of my men with the other 4 to see their town and to trade with them, but in their way thitherward one of the Vice-admiral's men espied an Indian, one of the 4 who two years before he had seen in the Orinoco, and taking him by the arm told him that he knew him, and that he could speak Spanish. In the end, after many threats, he spake, and confessed that one of the three aboard my ship could also speak Spanish; whereupon the Vice-admiral's man returning aboard me, and I threatening the chief of these which I had kept, one of them spake Spanish, and told me that certain Indians of the drowned lands, inhabited by a nation called Tibitivas, arriving in a canoe at his port, told him that the English in the Orinoco had taken St. Thome, slain Diego de Palmita, the governor, slain Captain Erenetta and Captain John Rues, and that the rest of the Spaniards, their captains slain, fled into the mountains, and that two English captains were also slain. This tale was also confirmed by

another Indian which my men brought from the Indian town, with divers others particulars, which I forbear to set down till I know the truth, for the 6th of this month I sent the Vice-admiral's skiff from Puncto Gallo towards the Orinoco manned with 10 musketeers to understand what my men had done there, and the cause of their long stay, having received no news from them since they entered the Orinoco but by these Indians since the 10th of December, other than that they were at the river's mouth, which news Captain Chudley (who accompanied them so far) brought me.

The 3rd of January my men returned from the Indian town, and brought with them some Casavi bread with other fruits, and very fair oranges.

The 4th of January a boat that I had sent over to the south side, where I saw a great fire, returned, not finding any people there.

The 6th day I sent a skiff over toward the Orinoco manned with 10 musketeers, to hear what was become of my men there. The same day came into this port Captain Giner, of the Isle of Wight, and his pinnace.

The 8th day I sent 16 musketeers by land to the Indian town to bring away some of the Indians

which spake Spanish, and to separate them from those two which I kept aboard me, because I found them so divers in their reports as touching the Orinoco, and because one of them had confessed the day before that himself, with the pilot which I sent into Orinoco in the skiff, and one of them in the Indian town, were in St. Thome when it was taken by the English. I was desirous by taking 2 or 3 of the rest to know the truth, but so careless were the mariners I sent, as they suffered all to go loose and to escape : but I had yet 2 Indians aboard me, and a third went pilot for the Orinoco. One of these I sent away with knives to trade with a nation inhabiting the east part of Trinidad, called the Nepoios, with this charge, that if he came not again after 4 days (which was the time by him required), that I would then hang his brother, which was the pilot aforesaid, and this other Indian aboard, to which the Indian aboard condescended.

But the 12th of February I went ashore and took the Indian with me, fastened and well-bound to one of my men, so carried him with me to show me the trees which yield balsam, of which I had recovered a nutful of that kind which smells like

Angolica, and is very rare and precious ; and after it was 10 o'clock, and very hot, the wood also being full of mosquitoes, I returned and left my Indian in charge of one of my master mates and 3 others ; but I was no sooner gone but they untied him, and he at the instant took the wood and escaped, notwithstanding that I had told them that if the Indian got but a tree between him and them, and were loose, that all the English in the fleet could not fetch him again. I had now none left but the pilot sent to the Orinoco, and I fear me that he also will slip away by the negligence of the mariners, who (I mean the common sort) are diligent in nothing but pillaging and stealing.

The 13th day Captain Giner and I made an agreement that he should follow me with his small ship and pinnace for 6 months after this 13th day.

The same evening I sent Sir W. Sentleger, Captain Chudley, and Captain Giles, with 60 men, to the Indian town to try if I could recover any of them .

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